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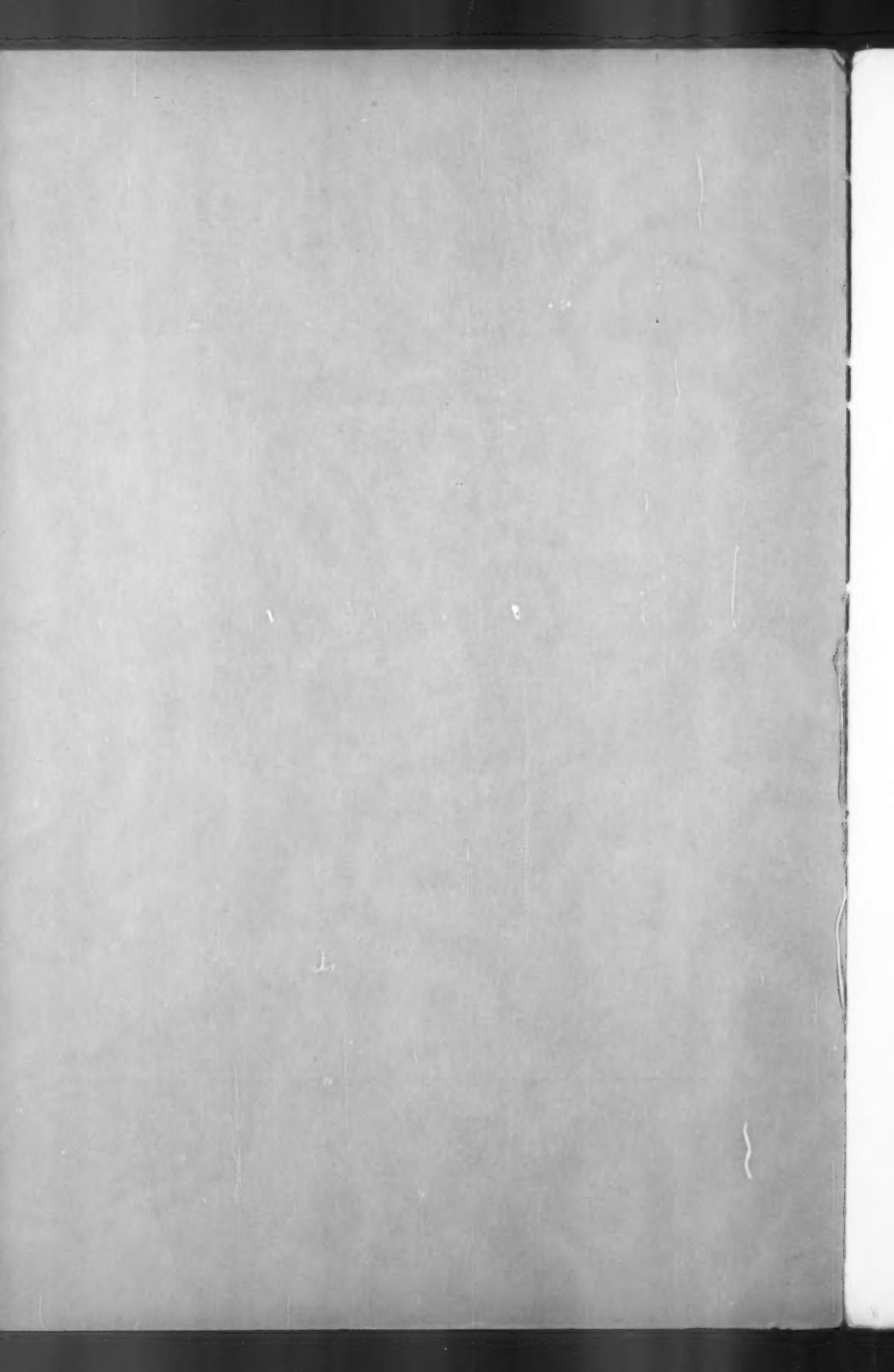
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Contents

ARTICLES

President's Statement	3
WALTER T. WATSON	
Labor, Politics, and Economics in Finland	5
F. RAY MARSHALL	
Why Moses Austin Came to Texas	16
CHARLES A. BACARISSE	
The Spanish Colonial Question and the Congress of Verona	28
IRBY C. NICHOLS, JR.	
The Constitution of the State of Alaska	40
PAUL C. BARTHOLOMEW	
Huatchipato: The Story of Iron and Steel in Chile	54
DAVID M. VIGNESS	
BOOK REVIEWS, <i>edited by H. MALCOLM MACDONALD</i>	60
THE ASSOCIATION: Proceedings of the 1959 Convention	92

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President's Statement

WALTER T. WATSON
SOUTHERN METHODIST UNIVERSITY

THE PRESIDENT's statement each year has revealed something of the man who gave it. Some of these statements have been wise, some witty, some erudite. In a few hands, they have yielded many-splendored things. I propose merely to present a few facts and figures about our Association that reveal something of its nature and its vitality.

Now, a fact is something that has a time and a place, and that you and I agree to. Since we agree, I propose that we be bound by the records and publications of the Association. Unfortunately, the Secretary and I cannot locate among past membership-records the data that would permit comparison with today. Consequently, this description of the Association is confined to the current year only.

The Association is, first of all, people.¹ At the end of February, 1959, the membership numbered 762. Of these, 524 were individuals—15 of whom were life members—and 238 were libraries. These figures represent persons who dwell in many widely scattered places, do different things.

The members come from 23 states (neither Alaska nor Hawaii is included) and from 5 foreign countries: Mexico, Argentina, Hungary, Hong Kong, and China itself. The individual members are, understandably, heavily concentrated in the Southwest. Perhaps no one is surprised that Texas leads, with 305 members; it is followed by Oklahoma with 55; Louisiana, 47; Arkansas, 32; and New Mexico, 21. No other state counted as many as 10 members when the official roster was published last September.

If Texas leads the states, Economics leads the disciplines, with 129 members. Sociology is second, with 96 members, and Government third, with 75. History follows, with 55; Accounting, 37; Business Administration, 31; Agricultural Economics, 28; Geography, 25; Business Research, 18.

Exactly 100 colleges and universities were represented on the Association's September, 1958, roster of members. Seventy-six schools had fewer than 5 members each, and 24 schools had 5 members or more each. Only 8 schools had more than 20 members each: University of Texas, 57; University of Oklahoma, 33; Southern Methodist University, 31; Louisiana State

¹ I borrow from a favorite broadcaster, whose facts are organized under the familiar caption, "People, Places, Things."

and the University of Arkansas, 23 each; North Texas State and Texas A. and M., 22 each; and Baylor University, 21. All the schools with 5 members or more are in the five-state region of the Southwest: Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Arkansas, New Mexico. Of the others, 48 are within the region and 28 outside.

In every college and university, every state and country, where it has members or where the QUARTERLY circulates, the Association exists and its activities are carried on. The influence of the Association is thus widespread: throughout the region, the nation, and to some extent the world, throughout the whole year. The QUARTERLY and its editors are a major factor in this widespread and continuing influence. Once a year the people of this Association come together in a single place to conduct this thing we call the annual meeting. This year's program lists 182² participants representing 38 colleges and universities. Participation is rather evenly distributed among the nine subject-matter sections, the disciplines averaging about 20 persons each.

So large a number of participants might be taken to represent a high level of scholarly activity. On the other hand, some might think that quantity and quality are inversely related! If that were true, Business Administration would have the best section, with 14 persons participating, and Sociology and History the poorest, with 35 and 28 persons, respectively. The remaining sections have about the same number of participants. If this concentration of academic energy is not too overpowering, let us add that 15 publishing companies have exhibits presenting new books to the members and their guests.

These facts and figures suggest a few simple conclusions on which we may reflect:

The Southwestern Social Science Association is a large organization whose influence is widespread. This is the size of the responsibility to which we are called.

The program of the annual meeting reflects the scholarly activity of many members. This is one measure of the Association's success.

In all the states of the region, however, even in a state like Texas, with many members:

Some colleges and universities are not represented at all.

Some colleges and universities are not well represented.

Some disciplines are better represented than others.

All disciplines should be better represented.

This is the nature of the task before us. And now, for the privilege of serving you and for the honor of speaking to you at this time, I thank you.

² Persons participating in joint sessions of the program are counted with each discipline.

Labor, Politics, and Economics in Finland

F. RAY MARSHALL
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POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS with varying degrees of strength have grown out of most democratic industrial environments. Opinion is divided about the effects of these organizations; there are those who strongly favor them and others who roundly condemn them. Some see such organizations leading us down the slippery road to a nefarious and undesirable collectivist system, while others consider group action necessary to correct inequalities created by the simultaneous existence of unequal economic and political power.

Whatever their impact and whatever road they may be leading us on, organized groups seem to be a natural outgrowth of modern democratic industrial societies. It behooves the social scientist, therefore, to strive to understand the origins, motivations, and interrelationships of organized groups and their impact on economic, political, and social life.

Politico-economic organizations have reached a high level of development in Finland. In this country of just slightly more than four million people, sandwiched between Sweden and Russia, one may observe the evolution of one of the strongest co-operative movements in the world and of strongly organized farmers', employers', and industrial and white-collar workers' organizations. These economic organizations seek to wield political power through one or more of Finland's six political parties: Social Democrats, Communists, Agrarians, and three smaller parties representing groups with "middle-class" or "conservative" ideas. Although this paper is concerned mainly with the dynamics of labor-movement organizations, it also attempts to show the relations between labor and other groups, and to add an empirical note to the theoretical work on politico-economic power groups.¹

¹ See, for example, John R. Commons, *Economics of Collective Action* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1950); Kenneth Boulding, *Organizational Revolution* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1952); Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, *Politics, Economics and Welfare* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1952); Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1957); J. K. Galbraith, *American Capitalism* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1956).

The Finnish Labor Movement before the Second World War

The acquisition of political power was the most important objective of the Finnish labor movement during its formative years. In 1903, the Workers' Party of Finland, organized in 1899, adopted the program of the Austrian Socialists and changed its name to the Social Democratic Party of Finland. The Finnish Socialists were immediately successful in politics. After universal suffrage was wrested from Russia by the general strike of 1905, they won 80 of the 200 seats in Parliament, and, in 1916, increased their representation to 103, an absolute majority. But these political accomplishments were nullified to some extent by the fact that Finland was still a Russian Grand Duchy and the czar had veto power over the Finnish Parliament.

The obstacles encountered in achieving labor's objectives by peaceful means strengthened the revolutionary forces in the Finnish labor movement and led to an unsuccessful "Red" revolution in 1918. After the revolution, the labor movement was split between the moderate Social Democrats and the extreme leftists associated with the Finnish Communist Party, which had been organized by Finnish Reds in Moscow in August, 1918. Communist activities were countered by an extreme right-wing near-Fascist movement in the 1920's. Adherents of the latter movement succeeded in having the Communists outlawed in 1930. Outlawing the Communists did not destroy them, however, for they continued to operate behind various fronts until 1944, when they were legalized.

The Finnish Trade Union movement was less successful than its political wing, partly because the General Confederation of Finnish Employers, organized in 1906, refused to bargain collectively, contending that the Finnish labor movement was too political. Societies dedicated to the uplifting of mankind, headed by middle-class leaders, were formed among skilled workers after 1850, but gave way to more militant labor organizations around the turn of the century. The first independent union, the Book Printers' Union of Finland, was formed in 1899, and a confederation, the National Trade Union Organization—NTUO—was formed in 1905. NTUO came under Communist domination and was outlawed along with the Finnish Communist Party in 1930. After NTUO was dissolved, moderate labor leaders formed another central organization, the Confederation of Finnish Trade Unions—SAK.

Developments after the Second World War

The relationships of economic and political groups in Finland were unbalanced by the Second World War and its aftermath, and uncertainty prevailed concerning the strength of the various forces. The 1944 armistice agreement with the Soviet Union required the dissolution of several right-

wing organizations and the legalization of the Communist Party, outlawed and operating underground since 1930. The Communists became a large unknown quantity in relations between political and economic groups. Everyone in Finland knew that the Reds would exert great pressure in their attempt to gain control of mass movements and of the government, but no one could foretell how successful they would be, or how much help they would get from Russia.

There were also other new powers and procedures to be considered. The general agreement between the union confederation, SAK, and the central employers' organization, STK, meant that those organizations would have much more to say about wages and employment than they had had before the war. Collective bargaining, which had previously played a minor role in Finnish labor-management relations, became an important weapon of organized labor and management. The union confederation was also strengthened when several organizations that had previously remained independent joined it; its membership jumped from 66,383 in 1940 to a peak of 341,579 in 1947. The following figures show graphically how SAK membership increased after 1930:

1930	14,967	1946	311,796	1950	268,777
1935	33,883	1947	341,579	1951	260,563
1940	66,383	1948*	306,358	1952	242,445
1945	299,563	1949	248,383	1953	240,087
				1954	273,599

* The decline in membership after 1947 resulted from the expulsion of Communist unions, the bitter conflict between Social Democrats and Communists for control of the confederation, and government wage-control policies.

All other politico-economic organizations experienced similar increases in strength in preparation for the postwar power struggle. The employers' confederation increased from 17 federations of 500 firms with 96,000 workers in 1941 to 28 federations of 2,910 firms with 199,000 workers in 1946 and to 30 federations of 2,563 firms with 265,000 workers in 1951. In 1944, white-collar workers' organizations formed the Confederation of Intellectual Work—HTK. The founding charter was signed by 15 organizations representing some 21,000 members. By 1954, HTK had 25 affiliated organizations with approximately 65,000 members—about 27 per cent of all salaried employees in the country, as compared with SAK's organization of about 30 per cent of industrial workers eligible for membership. If the membership of white-collar organizations not connected with HTK is included, approximately 50 per cent of the salaried workers in Finland belong to some organization. The extent of organized membership is not an index of the white-collar workers' power, of course, because they are not as strong politically or economically as industrial workers. The Central Union of Agri-

cultural Producers—MTK—organized in 1918, showed similar growth in the postwar period. About 69 per cent of Finland's farmers are now members of MTK, which covers all of Finland except the Swedish-speaking coastal areas, where a similar organization is co-operating closely with it on important issues. In 1954, this Swedish organization had about 20,000 members and MTK had 246,000; MTK had grown from 52,500 members in 1945 to 175,000 in 1947.

By far the most important event in the immediate postwar period was the successful struggle to keep the Communists from gaining control of unions, co-operatives, and the government. In the March, 1945, elections, the first since 1939, the Democratic League of the People of Finland—SKDL—which the Communists had formed for political purposes, won 49 seats in the 200-member Parliament; they polled 407,000 votes. The Social Democrats won 50 seats and 422,000 votes, the Agrarians 49 seats and 355,000 votes, the Conservatives 28 seats and 249,000 votes, the Swedish People's Party 15 seats and 142,000 votes, and the Liberals 9 seats and 87,000 votes.

The Communists attempted to gain supremacy in Finland between 1945 and 1950 by capturing control of the government and labor-movement organizations. Their strategy was to gain control of important cabinet posts, especially the Ministry of Interior, which ruled the police. When energetic anti-Communists thwarted their attempts to win ascendancy through the government, the Communists staged an unsuccessful series of strikes designed to recoup some of their lost power by gaining control of the trade-union confederation, SAK.

The employers' confederation, STK, aided SAK in its fight against Communist-controlled unions. If a union was expelled from the confederation, for example, STK refused to bargain with it. This weapon was used successfully during the Communist strikes of 1949, when SAK ousted seven unions that had a total membership of about 100,000. Five of these were later taken back, but two were permanently expelled. A third Communist organization, the Finnish Textile Workers' Union, was ousted in 1952. As of January, 1956, the Communists had majorities in only six of SAK's 39 unions. The strongest of these six was the Finnish Building Workers' Union, with about 24,000 members; the others were of negligible numerical strength.

By the spring of 1951, the Social Democrats had successfully checked the Communist threat to their leadership, largely as a result of their energetic leaders. The Socialists built up an underground that matched the Communists' cell for cell and gave the Social Democrats intimate knowledge of the Communists' movements. The Social Democrats spearheaded the attack on the Communist threat to democratic institutions in Finland. Because they represented the workers and were a part of the labor movement, the

Socialists could win the majority of workers away from the Communists much more easily than could nonworking-class groups, though other non-Communists did give the Socialists valuable assistance at times. An example is the willingness of the employers' confederation to deal solely with the Social-Democratic-led SAK.

Wages and Prices in Postwar Finland

Inflation has been the most persistent economic problem in postwar Finland. The cost-of-living index (1938/39 = 100) was 120 in 1940, 282 in 1945, 799 in 1949, and 1,119 in 1953. Industrial wages increased from 100 in 1939 to 815 in 1947, 1,267 in 1949, and 2,168 in 1953. Wages of white-collar workers generally lagged behind both the cost of living and industrial wages. For example, the index of salaries of civil servants was 100 in 1939, 508 in 1947, 702 in 1949, and 1,295 in 1953.

The struggle between Communists and Socialists for supremacy in the labor movement put an upward pressure on wages—it is no coincidence that relative economic stability came with the containment of the Communist threat within SAK. This conflict was by no means the only inflationary pressure in postwar Finland, however. In all probability prices would have increased about as much by the present time, if not more, if there had been no trade-union movement. Wages probably could not have been stabilized after 1948/49 if trade unions had not supported the Social Democratic Party's attempts to maintain economic stability. Between 1940 and 1950 the Finnish work force declined from about 2,016,000 to approximately 1,984,000,² while labor's share of the net national product increased from 50 to 60 per cent between 1938 and 1947 and remained around that figure throughout the postwar period.³ Finland had 135,000 men killed and disabled in the wars. The dead alone represented 7.2 per cent of the work force, and the total lost to the work force was more than 10 per cent. In addition, 42,000 people emigrated between 1941 and 1951, two-thirds of those who left during 1950 being between the ages of sixteen and forty. These losses came at a time when tremendous investment demand exerted inflationary pressures. The territory destroyed by the wars had to be rebuilt, heavy reparations had to be paid to the Russians in goods which the Finns did not produce, and about 425,000 people from the territory ceded to Russia had to be resettled. There was a drastic shortage of skilled labor because of wartime losses and the deferred training of men who had been in the armed forces. Added pressure was placed on wages from the rising costs of living

² Elisabeth Elfvingren, *Finlands Arbetskraft Struktur och Utvecklingstendenser* (Helsinki, Ekonomiska Utredningsbyrén, 1955), serie A: Vol. II, p. 36.

³ Economic Department of the Ministry of Finance, *Economic Survey of Finland* (Helsinki, 1950), p. 9.

resulting from war and postwar monetary policies. The Finnish mark was devalued three times in 1945 and again in 1949. All these factors were aggravated by the backlog of demand and other maladjustments from the wars.

The politico-economic groups experimented with various techniques in their effort to solve the wage-price problem. Before October 29, 1954, wages had generally been tied to the cost-of-living indexes, but a new regulation adopted at that time left them to collective bargaining, with the proviso that the October, 1954, level be maintained. Central labor-market organizations were given much more authority over wages than previously. Before this new regulation, wage adjustments were allowed for changes in the cost-of-living index, but no provision was made for increases necessitated by equity. Certain groups of workers got wage increases in spite of controls. The 1954 regulation made the negotiation of wages and wage bases primarily a concern of the labor-market organizations, but it stipulated that wages had to be at least as high as they were in October, 1954. Wages remained tied to the cost-of-living index, but in contract renewals, amendments could be made subject to approval by the central labor-market organizations, and in exceptional cases by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

At this time, SAK appeared eager to transfer wage decisions from the government to the labor-market organizations. The political strength of the farmers had made it possible for agricultural prices to increase with money wages, making increases in real wages extremely difficult. SAK saw that to throw the decision to the market instead of the political arena would possibly enhance its position because, as regards farmers, workers are stronger in the market than in Parliament. Wage controls had also caused SAK to lose membership, as indicated by the decline in membership between 1947 and 1953 from 342,000 to 240,000, not all of which can be accounted for by the expulsion of the Communist-controlled unions.

The 1956 General Strike

The relationships between politico-economic groups were dramatically revealed in the general strike of 1956. In December, 1955, the various interest-groups were undecided about their income relationships for the coming year. The Cabinet was comprised of a coalition of Agrarians and Social Democrats under Agrarian Prime Minister Kekkonen. Parliament had appropriated some funds to raise lagging civil-service salaries, creating a mild pressure on the wages front. Other white-collar workers were dissatisfied; bank employees and pharmacists were threatening to strike. Parliamentary decisions were withheld pending agricultural income, wage regulations, and other income questions. Trade unions had decided to postpone decisions on

their contracts until these matters were settled. By December 11, 1955, contracts covering some 130,000 workers had been canceled.

All the major interest-groups were preparing their economic and political forces for the ensuing conflict over the division of income. Employers and business groups were attempting to remove economic decisions from the political front, where they were relatively weak, to the economic front, where they were stronger. SAK wanted to include an escalator clause in collective-bargaining contracts if defeat of the Economic Powers Law ended government regulations. The union confederation's position would be strengthened if it, rather than the government, took credit for wage changes. In November, 1955, SAK and STK had tentatively agreed to include such an index system in the pending collective agreements.

The Communists opposed this index system because they wanted wages tied to the cost-of-living index and controlled by the government. Communists would have relatively little control over wages under the SAK-STK proposal, since much of their support comes from workers who do not have collective-bargaining contracts. The Social Democratic leaders could not take full credit for wage adjustments if the system was automatic and settled in Parliament, where Communists controlled 43 of the 200 seats.

Things came to a head on December 14, when the three right-wing parties defeated the wartime Economic Powers Law. The measure was constitutional legislation and needed the opposition of only a sixth of the Parliament for defeat. The cost-of-living index started inching upward after January 1, 1956, when rents were decontrolled. At the same time, it became known that MTK, the farmers' organization, was contemplating price increases which, together with the increases in rents, would send the cost-of-living index up from 101 to 106 (October, 1954=100). SAK immediately sought to prevent these price increases. The trade-union confederation began negotiations with the farmers' organization—MTK—and with the employers confederation—STK. It demanded either that prices be lowered to the January level or wages increased to compensate for the price increases.

By February 1, collective-bargaining contracts covering some 250,000 workers had been canceled, but there would be no negotiations on individual contracts until SAK and STK decided what courses wages would take as a result of rising prices. SAK demanded a general wage increase of 6.7 per cent, but STK rejected this demand and negotiations were broken off. On February 8, SAK threatened a general strike unless its demands were met. Three days later the central farmers' organization announced that it would stage an agricultural-delivery strike if SAK called a general strike.

The result of the threatened resignation of the seven Social Democrat members and the election of Agrarian Prime Minister Kekkonen to the

presidency was to render the Cabinet ineffectual, further complicating matters. This governmental impotency is significant because in past emergencies the Cabinet had taken action to bring the parties together. There is ample evidence that many organizations expected the government to take the necessary action this time as well.

President-elect Kekkonen asked K. A. Fagerholm, Social Democrat, to form a cabinet that would bring the parties together before the general-strike deadline, March 1. He was unable to do this, and the strike started as scheduled. At the same time, MTK started the agricultural-delivery strike, but there were no serious shortages of food during the three days MTK withheld supplies. The central farmers' organization ended the agricultural-delivery strike when the Cabinet formed by Fagerholm on the second day of the strike promised to tie agricultural prices to the general level of wages and make other concessions to farmers.

The strike was finally settled on March 19, when the Cabinet, in effect, threatened to resign if its proposals to end the strike were not accepted. These proposals were based on extensive negotiations between Prime Minister Fagerholm and the various parties and called for, in addition to the agricultural-income measures adopted when the Cabinet was formed on March 2, the following: (1) A separate wage increase proportionate to the price increases was to be paid to wage-earners. (2) Prices were to be controlled by the government. (3) Arrangements on wages after the basic period of February, 1956, were left to the labor-market organizations.

Wage adjustments in the separate collective agreements were to average 3 per cent for each industry, with an upper limit of 6 per cent, and, in some cases, 9 per cent if the 3 per cent average was observed. It was recommended that the index clause negotiated by SAK and STK in November, 1955, be included in the collective-bargaining contracts. A wage increase in addition to these to be negotiated was paid to all workers throughout the economy, whether they were members of SAK or not. SAK's industrial-worker members would thus get between 9 and 10 per cent on the average after the collective agreements were negotiated.

To compensate employers, the Cabinet promised to reduce production costs by increasing depreciation allowances and lowering child-allowance payments and taxes. These reductions in employers' expenses amounted to between a third and a half of the 9 to 10 per cent average wage-increases that would go to SAK's members, leaving the employers' burden at between 4 and 7 per cent.⁴

⁴ Factory production in Finland has increased on an average of between 4 and 6 per cent in the last few years. Since employers were to pay between 4 and 7 per cent more in wages, an

Farmers, workers, and employers gained from this strike in that relative order. In the period between 1951 and 1955, national income increased by 23 per cent, wages increased by 16 per cent, and agricultural income by 26 per cent. The January agricultural-price increases brought this to 35 per cent for the farmers, and they received an additional 6 per cent for increases in agricultural productivity, all of which went to farmers, bringing the total increase in agricultural income to 41 per cent since 1951. After the settlement of the general strike, wages increased by about 25 per cent in the same period, and in September, 1956, agricultural prices increased by another 4.3 billion marks to compensate for all above the 6.5 billion marks paid the workers as a result of the strike.⁵

The wage agreements negotiated to end the strike produced price increases and eliminated some of the price advantages Finland had in international trade. The strike also had its effects on trade-union affiliation. Some members considered leaving SAK because of dissatisfaction with the way the strike was handled, but the net effect was to increase membership. In the autumn of 1956, it was reported that SAK membership had increased to 450,000.⁶ Another important organizational development was the formation of a transport workers' federation under the able leadership of the head of the Seamen's Union. This federation was the direct outgrowth of the strike because the strike demonstrated the transport workers' strategic position in the economy. This powerful organization had about 40,000 workers in the following unions: Seamen, Engine Drivers, Car Workers, Railway Workers, and Pilot and Lighthouse Workers.

The general strike gave the SKDL an excuse to campaign for unity of the Socialist and Communist wings of the labor movement, in keeping with the then-current Communist line. There were scattered Communist demonstrations during the strike, but they generally supported SAK's Social Democratic leaders. Immediately after the strike ended, SKDL saluted the "Social Democrats and nonparty workers who filled their places in the common front."

average of between 0.0 and 3 per cent would be uncovered by productivity increases, depending upon wages negotiated.

⁵ The economic consequences of this general strike are hard to measure. One estimate is that it caused a loss of 8 million working days and between 10 and 11 billion marks in wages. (\$1.00 = 231 Finnish marks.) Between 13 and 15 billion marks were lost in national income and receipts from exports lost about 5 billion marks (Nils Meinander, "The Economic Situation after the Strike," *Unitas* [Helsinki], May, 1956, p. 49). According to a statement by the Finnish Social Research Bureau on April 13, 1956, the strikes lost 6.8 million workdays and 8.9 billion marks in earnings. There were about 300,000 industrial workers on strike, 75,000 in the building trades, 38,000 transportation workers, 60,000 state workers, and about 1,000 local-government workers.

⁶ John Brophy, "Those Plucky Finns are Sticking with the Free," *American Federationist*, November, 1956, p. 26.

This attitude represented a decided change from their policy of attacking the Social Democrats at every opportunity. On March 23, the Communist paper *Työkansan Sanomat* declared in an editorial:

The general strike turned out to be a considerable victory for the working class—economic results were achieved, and the big capitalists' attack against the SAK was warded off. The fact that these results were reached was due to the workers' unity and unanimity, and the unity between the workers, small farmers and intellectual workers was strengthened. The power of the capitalist class is based on the workers' disunity. In blaming the SAK, the conservative bourgeois pretends to defend "legality," "democracy" and "western justice" but at the same time threatens the workers with accusations and machine guns. . . . Let us make SAK stronger and more unanimous.

This position became a favorite Communist theme after the strike.

The Finnish general strike indicates the difficulties involved in attempting to eliminate government controls at full employment when there are strongly organized politico-economic groups competing to maintain or to increase their shares of the national income. These organizations have great political and economic power, which they cannot be expected to refrain from using. Democratic industrial societies tend to produce these associations, and the organization of some elements of the economy forces others to follow suit, as the Finnish example demonstrates. Each group tries to protect its interests with alternating economic and political weapons, depending upon which it considers the more potent for the purpose. The economy is held together by a network of checks and balances between organizations operating mainly in the market and through the government—the government often acting as an agency to put the formal stamp of approval on decisions reached by economic organizations. The results must be a compromise which will fail to satisfy completely any particular group. External forces may be brought to bear on these intergroup relationships; for example, the necessity of international trade tends to check all organizations in an economy like Finland's because all realize that there are limits beyond which they cannot go if prices are to be competitive in the international market. Each group's desire to avoid the blame for inflation and international monetary difficulties means that moral power might be used as a countervailing force to check inflation.⁷

Group interactions such as those in Finland exist to some extent in all

⁷ For a discussion of the various types of power that organizations may use, see John R. Commons, *op. cit.*, Chap. xii; and Bertrand Russell, *Power* (New York, W. W. Norton & Company, 1938).

countries and seem to follow certain definite rules. The system of checks and balances between organizations depends in part upon the intensity and extensiveness of organization. Where there is a high degree of organization by each sector of the economy, the checks are more complete because each group has the ability to instantly retaliate against moves made by the others. The knowledge that retaliation will be instantaneous combines with the pressure of international competition to keep inflation from being more rampant than it has been, for each group will seek to reach workable relations with others in order to maintain its economic and political security. Political security, in turn, necessitates a system of compromises through power checks within organizations as well as between them. If the organizations act as a check upon each other, they may produce relative stability, as was the case in Finland between 1951 and 1956, but the danger is that in testing their own power they will periodically cause instability and readjustment. In a democracy, equilibrium must be compatible with the economic and political power positions of the competing organizations.⁸

⁸ The Finnish experience casts some light on the applicability of Galbraith's idea of countervailing power as a device for understanding politico-economic conflicts in Europe. Galbraith contends that countervailing power breaks down as a device by which groups control each other during inflation because some groups find it possible to pass higher costs on in the form of increasing prices. The Finnish experience indicates that, for the reasons enumerated above, stability could be achieved under inflationary conditions if the groups check each other. It is also noteworthy that power checks are probably more complete under European than American conditions (see Galbraith, *op. cit.*).

New Business Journal

Frederic Meyers, former editor of this journal and now on the staff of the University of California at Los Angeles, was complimented by having his article "Workers' Control of Industry in Europe" (*Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 39, No. 2) summarized in the first issue of *The International*

Executive. This new journal, published by the Foundation for the Advancement of International Business Administration, is under the editorship of Ruth S. Fayerweather. It is intended to be a sort of *Reader's Digest* for administrators.

National Book Award

Oliver Read Whitley, professor of sociology of religion at Iliff School of Theology, has received an award of \$3,000 for his manuscript "The Trum-

pet Call of Reformation," it has been announced by the national office of the Disciples of Christ. The book is being published by the Bethany Press.

Why Moses Austin Came to Texas

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EXPECTATIONS FOR THE FUTURE, created out of personal past experience, are the basis for men's actions in the present. Based on that hypothesis this study, probing Moses Austin's "expectations for the future" is intended to show that his main purpose in coming to Texas was not to establish a colony of farmers, as is generally believed, but rather to establish a trading venture with the interior of New Spain. In Moses Austin's plan, planting the colony of three hundred was secondary in importance. The desire to profit from a commerce carried on between two "civilized" centers was as important a motive for the action opening Texas to peaceful Anglo-American settlement as was the hunger to possess the virgin land.

In the fourteen years between Zebulon Pike's expedition and the overthrow of Spanish rule in New Mexico, a number of expeditions left the Missouri settlements for Santa Fe.¹ As early as 1812, Moses Austin and his son-in-law, James Bryan, seriously thought of entering this trade. While reviewing commercial prospects, Moses told Bryan, "I also wrote you my opinion on the opening towards Mexico, I have had Nothing to change a belief that an adventure to that Country would be both safe and advantageous."² Moses soon had reason enough to change his mind, however, for late in 1812 ten Missouri merchants were arrested in Santa Fe and held prisoner in Chihuahua until 1821. Among these men was James Baird, Sr., a man Austin must have known.³ For either this reason or some other, the Santa Fe adventure was put aside, and Moses Austin continued to concen-

¹ Robert G. Cleland, *This Reckless Breed of Men* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1950), p. 122.

² Moses Austin to James Bryan, January 4, 1813, in Eugene C. Barker (ed.), *The Austin Papers* (3 vols. Vols. I and II, Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Years 1919 and 1922 [Washington, 1924, 1928]; Vol. III, University of Texas Press [Austin, 1926]), Vol. I, p. 223. Hereinafter cited as *AP*. Barker, in his *Life of Stephen F. Austin*, cites this letter as authority for the statement that Moses contemplated trade in Texas in 1813.—(Austin, Texas State Historical Association, 1949), p. 23.

³ Cleland, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123; James Baird to Austin, October 10, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 416-417. Actually, this letter was written by James Baird, Sr., the prisoner, asking Stephen to care for his son, James Baird, Jr., who had signed up with Moses to come to Texas. After Moses' death young Baird came to Texas with Stephen. Therefore the reference *AP*, Vol. I, p. 417 is somewhat misleading.

trate on his lead-mining, general store, and banking investments in Missouri.

The panic of 1819 hit Moses hard, compelling a frantic search for new business opportunities. He, his son Stephen, and James Bryan established trading centers and plantations on the Red River near the Texas border. For a time in July of 1819, they believed a war with Spain over ratification of the Adams-Onís Treaty would develop and stimulate business, but the war never came. Moses and Stephen watched closely the filibustering activities of General James Long, hoping he would control San Antonio by October, 1819, and open new possibilities for them;⁴ again they were disappointed.

The elder Austin was desperate by January, 1820. A Missouri sheriff had threatened to break down his door to collect old debts; his younger son, James E. Brown Austin, was jailed in Kentucky because of debts. Moses tried to get a commission for Brown in the United States Navy, and he asked Henry Meigs in Washington, D.C., to obtain a copy of the Spanish passport issued to Moses in 1797.⁵ Without a definite plan, he thought of going "down the Country in the spring" to see Stephen in the Arkansas Territory and "determine what I then shall do."⁶

Stephen's letters for this period indicate that his financial situation was equally poor, and he was grasping at every suggestion of a solution. In June, Stephen wrote, "I shall go down the Mississippi and seek employ[ment]."⁷ But in July he accepted an appointment as circuit judge for the Arkansas Territory.⁸ Then in October, 1820, he went to New Orleans seeking employment, but without any particular plan and apparently without knowledge of what his father was planning to do.⁹

In November, Moses learned that Spain had ratified the Adams-Onís Treaty, placing Texas beyond the reach of United States sovereignty. Under the circumstances this was not a handicap, for a new liberal government had been established in Spain during March, 1820; and the old Spanish constitution of 1812 had been repromulgated. Correctly or not, Moses Austin believed the new government would permit free trade with the outside world. Passing through Little Rock to pick up a gray horse and a Negro named Richmond, Moses Austin started his historic trip to San Antonio. He

⁴ Moses Austin to Henry R. Schoolcraft, June 20, July 4, July 26, August 19, and September 17, 1819, in *Schoolcraft Papers 1809-1819* (University of Texas transcripts from Smithsonian Institution).

⁵ Moses Austin to Citizens of Jefferson County, January 10, 1820, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 352; Moses Austin to James E. Brown Austin, February 8, 1820, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 354; J. Meigs to Moses Austin, March 9, 1820, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 356.

⁶ Moses Austin to J. E. Brown Austin, February 8, 1820, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 355.

⁷ Stephen F. Austin to James Bryan, June 2, 1820, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 364.

⁸ Stephen F. Austin's commission as judge, July 10, 1820, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 365-366.

⁹ Stephen F. Austin to his mother, January 20, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 373.

left Hugh McGuffin's on November 27, 1820, and joined Jacob Forsythe and Jacob Kirkham on the road out of Natchitoches. On December 23 the party rode into San Antonio.¹⁰

Immediately upon arrival the three free men were taken before Governor Antonio Martínez. Since none of the three spoke Spanish, the Baron de Bastrop was sent for to serve as interpreter. The Governor asked each man, in turn, a set of stock questions: name, religion, place of birth, observations of filibustering activities, and whether he had brought any trade goods into the province. The examinations disclosed that Jacob Kirkham was a farmer from Natchitoches, seeking the return of four runaway slaves; Jacob Forsythe was a native of Virginia, seeking asylum from a nagging wife.¹¹

Moses Austin declared that he was a former subject of the Spanish Crown and a Catholic. He had his old 1797 passport to prove the first statement, but on the matter of religion he may have had some mental reservations. His younger son had been baptized in the Catholic Church, and Moses planned to use this as proof of his religious affiliation should it become necessary.¹² At this time he mentioned only a desire to bring his own family into Texas. He said he had read in the American newspaper that the Adams-Onís Treaty had been ratified by Spain, that he had lost all his property in Missouri, and that in view of the new system of government adopted by Spain, he had resolved to apply for permission to settle in the province.¹³

The often-told story that Moses Austin was ordered out of the province without an opportunity to present his request for establishing a colony is not supported by documentary evidence nor does it ring true.¹⁴ It was customary to examine each foreigner in the manner described here and to hold strangers until higher authority decided their disposition.

It is possible that Moses Austin and Bastrop were old acquaintances; there had been many opportunities for their paths to cross, for both men were

¹⁰ Memorandum and Itinerary, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 368; Examination of Moses Austin, December 23, 1820, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 370-371.

¹¹ Declarations of Kirkham and Forsythe, December 23, 1820, Nacogdoches Archives MSS. (Texas State Archives).

¹² Moses Austin to J. E. B. Austin, April 8, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 386.

¹³ Examination of Moses Austin, December 23, 1820, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 370-371.

¹⁴ Stephen F. Austin is the original source for this story, and his is a secondhand account. See Stephen F. Austin, *Translation of the Laws, Orders, and Contracts on Colonization . . .* in H. P. N. Gammel (comp.), *The Laws of Texas 1822-1897* (10 vols., Austin, 1898), Vol. I, p. 4. William Kennedy, *Texas, Its Rise, Progress and Prospects* (2 vols., London, 1841), Vol. I, p. 316, repeats the story without authority; H. Yoakum, *History of Texas from its First Settlement in 1685 to its Annexation to the United States in 1846* (2 vols., New York, 1855), Vol. I, p. 210, puts the story in a footnote, citing Kennedy. Homer S. Thrall, *A Pictorial History of Texas* (St. Louis, 1879), p. 149, tells the story without authority, and H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States and Texas* (2 vols., San Francisco, 1889), Vol. II, pp. 57-58, cites Thrall for the story which he repeats. Such a listing could be continued but it seems pointless.

active in the Mississippi Valley between 1798 and 1805.¹⁵ But it is also true that on several occasions the Baron had taken strangers into his home, at the Governor's request, for the purpose of extracting information from them in unguarded conversation.¹⁶ For whatever motive, the Baron was always a gracious host, and for the next few days he and Austin were inseparable. During this period Austin spoke for the first time of his nebulous project, his real reason for coming to Texas.

Between December 23 and 26, Moses Austin and the Baron de Bastrop developed a plan for establishing a trading center to be called "Austin." To enjoy the full benefit of all the possibilities the two envisioned, it became apparent the town would have to be a port. But since neither Austin nor Bastrop knew enough about the coast line to be sure of the most favorable location, they left this point unspecified in their final petition. Their purpose was to establish a port on the Texas coast through which the rich trade with the entire northern portions of New Spain could flow. From Santa Fe to Saltillo and Monterrey the goods of the country could be shipped out to the world, and the needs of the inhabitants of this vast region would surely make a merchant of the port a wealthy man in a short time. The trade was the important thing! Three hundred families would be needed to make the port a reality, and they could be induced to come to Texas by generous grants of land.

Without doubt the plan was Austin's, but the Baron, with fifteen years of trading experience in the region, added his own knowledge of the possibilities. In recognition of his valuable assistance Austin offered the Baron a prominent share in the enterprise, but Bastrop seems to have been reluctant to participate openly.

That Austin's plan was not fully developed when he arrived in San Antonio is attested to by the following facts: Stephen Austin, certain to be a partner in the enterprise, was not informed.¹⁷ A rough draft of Austin's petition is in the Baron's hand, and this draft leaves out the important request for a legal port.¹⁸ Moses Austin's actions after leaving San Antonio testify that his fully developed plan was as outlined above, and he wrote two full explanations of his intentions to his younger son, Brown.¹⁹

¹⁵ For Bastrop's early career, see C. A. Bacarisse, "The Baron de Bastrop," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (January, 1955), Vol. LVIII, pp. 319-330.

¹⁶ Varela to Bastrop, February 9, 1816, Archivo General de la Nación, Provincias Internas (University of Texas Archives Collection Transcripts), Vol. 239, Pt. 1, p. 298.

¹⁷ Stephen F. Austin to Maria Austin, January 20, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 373.

¹⁸ Draft of Moses Austin's application for colonization (December 26, 1820[?]), *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 371-372. This first draft of the petition, in Bastrop's hand, reads, in part, ". . . en el punto mas adecuado para la cultura del algodon, trigo, asucar, maiz, etc."

¹⁹ Moses Austin to J. E. B. Austin, March 28 and April 8, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 384-386.

The Baron and Moses presented a formal petition to Governor Martínez on December 26, 1820. In this petition Austin requested permission to bring three hundred Louisiana families to a *port*²⁰ suitable for the production of cotton, wheat, sugar, and corn. He stated that all the families were former subjects of His Catholic Majesty, persons of property and industry, and willing to serve the King in defense of the province against all enemies. He went on to explain that in order to save their property in Louisiana, the families he proposed bringing had since 1803 delayed acceptance of the King's invitation to follow the Spanish flag.

It was January 4, 1821, when Governor Martínez transmitted the petition with his strong endorsement of it to Commandant General Joaquín de Arredondo in Monterrey. The General referred the matter to the Provincial Deputation for advice on January 15. The deputation reported favorably on the petition and Arredondo granted the request two days later.²¹ Such prompt attention and expeditious passage were extremely unusual.

Certain of success, Moses Austin left San Antonio before receiving word that his application had been approved. The trip back to the United States was extremely difficult. By January 16, 1821, however, he was just west of Natchitoches, where he stopped at a friend's home. From there he wrote to Bastrop and Martínez. After passing on information of general interest, he made the first mention of his desire to use the mouth of the Colorado River as the site for his proposed port city of Austina. There is a possibility that he had just seen a copy of Melish's Map of the United States, which was used to mark the boundary agreed upon by the Adams-Onís Treaty. Melish's map showed the Colorado stretching from a point near Santa Fe to the Gulf of Mexico. Thinking this river was like those emptying into the Mississippi, Moses believed it possible for boats to run up it at least 150 miles. He assured the governor that duties on all goods introduced would be gladly paid by his colonists.²²

He had to leave his traveling companion, Richmond, with Douglas Forsythe, for the Negro was too ill to go on. Moses hastened on a few miles to Hugh McGuffin's, where he too fell ill and was delayed twenty days. From McGuffin's, Moses wrote to Bastrop again about the town at the mouth of the Colorado. He assured Bastrop that one year of its operation would cause

²⁰ The petition forwarded by Arredondo to the Provincial Deputation, which is spoken of as the original sent to him by Martínez, reads, in part, ". . . en el Puerto mas adecuado p^ra la cultura de Algodon, Trigo, Azucar, Maiz, etc."—Archivo del Secretaria de Fomento, Colonización, 2-4-6 (Barker Transcripts, Mexico Fomento, 1821-1834), Pt. 1, pp. 116-117.

²¹ Rafael del Llano to commandant general, January 17, 1821, *ibid.*, p. 118; Martínez to commandant general, January 4, 1821, letter copybook, Nacogdoches Archives; Ambrosio María del Aldasoro to Martínez, January 17, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 372-373.

²² Moses Austin to Bastrop, January 26, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 379-380.

a great change in conditions in San Antonio; and he added, "I have full confidence that a Town at the Mouth of Colorado in three years would become of the utmost Consequence . . ." To entice the Baron into joining the scheme, he continued, "and an interest in this Town would give some thousand Dollars to the friends of this establishment without any violation of Confidence or injury to Government."²³

In the same letter Moses warned Bastrop that both he and Lieutenant José Sandoval had been placed in danger by the loose talk of Jacob Kirkham, who had traveled part of the way from San Antonio back to Natchitoches with Austin. Apparently Kirkham had told Austin that Bastrop and Sandoval would receive smuggled goods into San Antonio and that they were sending stolen horses and mules out to him. Kirkham must have made it plain that this was common knowledge in San Antonio. Such talk would produce embarrassment for Sandoval and Bastrop, for both had been suspected of such activities, and Sandoval had been tried for smuggling in 1818.²⁴ No doubt Moses was genuinely concerned for Bastrop's welfare, but he was equally anxious that the government not become suspicious of his motives and actions. Legitimate trade between Santa Fe and the coast of Texas was one thing; smuggling between the United States and Texas was quite another.

When notification of the approval of Austin's petition arrived in San Antonio there was rejoicing. The San Antonio *ayuntamiento* was duly informed of the news on February 1, 1821. Governor Martínez was pleased with the prospect of gaining three hundred colonists, and he was overwhelmed by the thought of Texas's at last having a legal port. Both the *ayuntamiento* and the governor wrote letters of appreciation to the Provincial Deputation and the representative of Texas in that body. Juan Martín de Beramendi was appointed collector of customs for the new port, and Martínez commissioned José Erasmo Seguin to carry the news that the petition had been approved to the Spanish vice consul at Natchitoches, with the request that the information be sent on to Moses Austin.²⁵ The new customs collector, Beramendi, with a letter of introduction to Moses Austin from Bastrop, joined Seguin on the trip to Natchitoches. Beramendi was to advise Austin on some undisclosed subject.²⁶

Moses arrived at his home in Herculaneum, Missouri, about March 23, weary and ill. Within a few days he found strength to write to his younger

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Arredondo to Martínez, January 16–19, 1818, Bexar Archives MSS. (University of Texas Archives Collection).

²⁵ Martínez to Aldasoro, February 5, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 382–383; Minutes of Bexar *Ayuntamiento*, February 1, 1821, Bexar Archives MSS.

²⁶ Bastrop to Moses Austin, March 2, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 384.

son, still imprisoned for debt in Kentucky. An excerpt from this letter (unaltered) indicates the international trading aspects of his plan:

I returned from St. Antonio in the province of Texas five days since after undergoing everything but Death. For these sufferings I have been fully paid by obtaining a grant for myself and family of land and also for 300 families—I shall settle on the Colorado within (2) miles of the sea and three days sale from the Mississippi—Where I shall lay of a town under the protection of the Spanish Government the River Colorado is situated in the province of Texas in latitude 27 N on the Spanish Main (3) days south of Mississippi (3) Days sale from Havana 5 from Jamaca 7 from St Domingo a spot of country desirable to behold—overflowing with Wealth and *Health* in this situation I shall soon reinstate myself in property. I have already offers to fill up the families which will bring me about 18,000 dollars but of this I will write you more fully . . .²⁷

Again, a few weeks later, the father wrote to Brown, expanding the details of the interior trade he expected to develop:

I have made a visit to St. Antonio and obtained liberty to settle in that country—as *I am, ruined, in this . . .* I therefore made an *exertion* and obtained what I asked for a right of settlement for myself and family the situation I have marked out is on the *Colorado* about 3 Days sale from New Orleans or rather from the *Belize* a most delightful situation and on the Bay of *San Bernard* the Harbour is good with 12 or 13 feet water over the *Barr* after which—25 or 30 feet for some miles up the river with boat Navigation, *150 miles*—I have asked for leave of settlement for 300 families and (200) Thousand Acres of Land to open a Port Town at the *mouth of the River* which has been granted me by the Governor of the Province of Texas . . . If you examin Melishes Map of the United States you will find the Bay of San Bernard and the River Colorado at the mouth of which I calculate to lay of the Town of *Austina*, which will be in a few years equal to New Orleans in Consequence if not in wealth.²⁸

Similar letters must have been written to Stephen Austin, then in New Orleans, but they have not been found.

In April, Moses went to St. Louis to clear up his old debts in that city. After six exhausting weeks of negotiations he was freed of the burden. While in St. Louis, he entered into a contract with several young men by which he agreed to furnish a ship, with necessary supplies, and give 640 acres of land to each youth in return for their meeting him in New Orleans in May, 1821, and going by ship to the Colorado, where they were to construct stockades and a blockhouse, fence untimbered land, and plant and

²⁷ Moses Austin to J. E. B. Austin, March 28, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 384–385.

²⁸ Moses Austin to J. E. B. Austin, April 8, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 385–387.

harvest a corn crop. The young men were to remain in his employ until January, 1822.²⁹

Hurrying back to Herculaneum, Moses appointed John Metcalf his attorney with power to collect several debts, signed up several more young men, including young James Baird, Jr., and sent them off to New Orleans with a letter to Stephen confirming the recently made arrangements. Moses said he had been officially notified by mail from Natchitoches that his grant was approved. He warned his son to clear all doubts about the enterprise and use every means to obtain a vessel and prepare it for immediate sailing.³⁰

Moses Austin was pushing himself to the limits of his physical capacities. Desperately ill, he refused to rest even a day, for he was falling behind in his schedule. On June 2, ready to leave Missouri, he stopped at his son-in-law's home, Hazel Run, for last good-bys. He became so ill a Dr. Bernhisel was called in. For pneumonia the doctor bled and blistered the patient. Moses died of his treatment and the illness on June 10, 1821. His dying wish was that Stephen take up the adventure where he was forced to leave it.³¹

Stephen, in New Orleans, knew his father was ill, and he knew that Beramendi and Seguin were waiting at Natchitoches. Since he still had no vessel, he decided to go to Natchitoches accompanied by sixteen young men who had signed Moses' contract. In Natchitoches Stephen learned of his father's death and turned toward Texas. With Seguin and Beramendi as guides, the party of Anglo-Americans arrived in San Antonio on August 12, 1821. Stephen was cordially received by Governor Martínez and recognized as heir to his father's grant.

From the moment of his arrival Stephen was in close contact with the Baron de Bastrop. The young man, but twenty-seven years old, did not know Spanish, though he was beginning to study the language. Bastrop translated all messages to the Governor and discussed at length with Austin the problems facing him in trying to carry out his father's enterprise.

Based on discussions with Bastrop, Austin drew up a memorandum setting forth a plan for the distribution of land to the colonists who were to be introduced under the terms of his father's grant. Translated into Spanish by the Baron, it was presented to the Governor, who approved it on August 18, subject to modification by the superior government in Monterrey.³²

While Stephen was in San Antonio the city was raided by Indians. The Baron explained to the young man that the wars with the Comanche and Lipan originated in the turmoil of the Gutiérrez-Magee invasions of 1813.

²⁹ Form of Contract for Emigration to Texas, April 22, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 389-390.

³⁰ Moses Austin to Stephen F. Austin, May 22, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 393.

³¹ Maria Austin to Stephen F. Austin, August 25, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 408-409.

³² Stephen F. Austin to Martínez, August 18, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 406-408.

Bastrop said that many of the inhabitants of San Antonio, forced to flee to the United States, had settled in the neighborhood of Natchitoches, and in union with American traders had opened a contraband trade with the Indians of Texas. They furnished goods that delighted the savage heart in exchange for horses, mules, and other booty the Indians obtained by plundering the settlements of Texas, Coahuila, and Nuevo Santander. Out of these discussions on the Indian problem—and probably more at the Baron's instigation—Stephen and Bastrop added another aspect to the plan to carry on trade with the interior: they decided to ask the government for a trading monopoly with the Indians, ostensibly to control them by satisfying their demands. By this date, however, Mexico had declared its independence from Spain, and, although the constitution of 1812 was still the basic law of the land, neither Bastrop nor Austin could be certain the new national government would look with favor on their new proposal.³³

On August 21, Stephen set out to explore the territory which the grant to his father was supposed to encompass, the Governor, Beramendi, and Bastrop accompanying him for a short distance out of San Antonio. Bastrop and Austin continued their discussion of the Indian trade and agreed that the Baron should consult Erasmo Seguin about the possibilities of their plan. When Stephen reached La Bahía on September 1, he appointed Bastrop agent and attorney to look after his interest and affairs with the government in San Antonio.³⁴

According to their agreement, the Baron wrote to Erasmo Seguin of the plan to control the Indians through a trade monopoly. Seguin replied that he favored such a plan, but he did not know whether a monopoly of the trade could be obtained. He advised forming a more definite scheme, for the plan was still in the formative stage. The Baron was not discouraged by Seguin's reply, for he believed it was possible to obtain the monopoly, since all the principal men in the government in Monterrey were his close personal friends.³⁵

While Bastrop was thus engaged, Stephen was exploring the region along the coast line which was to be his first colony. This trip ended in Natchitoches, where Austin found more than a hundred letters awaiting him from prospective immigrants requesting permission to settle in his colony. He realized that a great deal more than his father had envisioned could be accomplished, and at this point the Austin family scheme began to change com-

³³ Seguin to Austin, August 30, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 411; Austin to Anastacio Bustamante, May 10, 1822, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 507-510. Although Stephen Austin's letter is of a later period, he did not see Bastrop again before this letter was written, and he gives Bastrop credit for his information.

³⁴ Power of Attorney to Bastrop, September 1, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 412.

³⁵ Bastrop to Austin, September 12, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 413-414.

plexion. Stephen turned the plan upside down, and the colonization became the dominant aspect, replacing the original principal interest in trade. Stephen proposed to Martínez that the boundaries of his grant be extended, and in view of the great distance between his colony and the seat of government, which might cause hardships, he requested that he be given large discretionary powers and authority to issue certificates for land. Austin's two letters were translated into Spanish by the Baron de Bastrop and forwarded by Governor Martínez to the new Mexican commandant general, Gaspar López.³⁶

López turned the entire matter of the Austin proposal over to the same Provincial Deputation that had originally approved the Austin petition. As one of their last official acts, on December 15, 1821, they ruled that Austin was not to appoint any officers, or issue titles to the land, but should instead await the decision of the deputation. They advised that in the meantime the immigrants were to be settled provisionally on land designated by the nearest *ayuntamiento*. The deputation then reminded López that its term was to expire on December 31, 1821, but on the last day in office the body passed a decree permitting the free exportation of mules from the Eastern Interior Provinces to the United States.³⁷ Evidently the deputation, like Moses, was more interested in trade than in promoting a colony of Anglo-Americans.

Meanwhile the port was officially authorized and opened in June, 1821. Although it was used by the Anglo-American colonists as a port of entry, it was used much more by the Mexican merchants of the Eastern Interior Provinces. Being without sure knowledge of the coast, Moses Austin had simply asked for a legal port. The Provincial Deputation, also lacking the information, dodged the problem by designating the port in San Bernardo (present Lavaca) Bay, which had been authorized by the Spanish Crown in 1805 but never established. When it was opened, the port was actually at La Bahía (on San Antonio Bay). It is interesting to note that Paso Caballo was the only entrance from the Gulf to either the series of bays leading to the legal port or to the mouth of the Colorado. Juan Martín de Beramendi, the customs collector, seems to have kept his office in San Antonio most of the time.

The port was used principally by a number of Mexican merchants from the provincial cities of Monclova, Monterrey, Candela, Parras, and, of course, San Antonio. Goods were shipped to and from New Orleans. The customhouse was finally closed in May, 1824, for at that time Texas was

³⁶ Austin to Martínez, October 12, 13, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 417-421; Martínez to López, November 18, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, pp. 429-430.

³⁷ Deputation to López, December 15, 1821, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 430; López to Martínez, January 29, 1822, Bexar Archives MSS.

granted the privilege of importing duty-free all goods to be used in the province. Therefore the records indicating the amount of goods flowing to and from the Eastern Interior Provinces through the new port in Texas are available for only a relatively short period of time. During this short period, however, from June, 1821, to May, 1824, a total revenue of 12,914 pesos was paid in customs duties. If this is taken to represent 33 per cent of the value, which was the usual custom duty, the sum means that at least 40,000 pesos worth of goods passed through Texas during this three-year period. Actually the amount of economic activity was far greater, for there are reasons to believe that many Mexican merchants paid as little as 3 per cent tariff and some refused to pay any duty.³⁸

The administrative problems connected with the port must have given Beramendi many a sleepless night. The merchants of Nuevo Santander continually avoided paying any duties on imported goods which came through La Bahía, and although Beramendi reported these infractions to Gaspar López, the commandant general was never able to do anything about the problem, for just at this time Nuevo Santander declared itself independent of the Eastern Interior Provinces.³⁹

Planning to use the port, which was opened before his inspection of the coast, Stephen Austin went to New Orleans to make final arrangements for sending the first group of colonists to his grant. In November, 1821, he bought a schooner, the *Lively*, the most famous of several vessels that carried the great majority of the first group of settlers to the coast of Texas. Besides the *Lively*, the *Only Son*, the *Good Intent*, and the *John Motley* brought settlers during December, 1821, and early 1822.⁴⁰

The skippers of these tiny schooners soon discovered that the port was poorly located to do the colonists much good, and this is a partial explanation for the failure of the *Lively* and other vessels to deliver their passengers and goods properly. The difficulties which these vessels encountered in finding the mouth of the Colorado or the legal port—thought to be the same place—signaled the beginning of a sustained effort by Austin and the Baron to obtain permission for another port more suited to the needs of the colonists. The opening of the port of La Bahía and the beginning of a trade that never ceased are of major historic importance. This Texas trade, both Mexican and

³⁸ Libro primero de entre aduana marítima y terrestre de la Provincia de Texas. Año de 1821 y 1822 sigue 23 y 24. Bexar Archives MSS.

³⁹ López to Beramendi, November 30, 1822, Bexar Archives MSS.; *Noticioso General* (Mexico), Núm. 28, March 6, 1822.

⁴⁰ J. H. Hawkins to Stephen F. Austin (February 6, 1822, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 476) mentions the *Only Son* and says three other vessels have sailed for the Colorado. Mrs. Eberly, one of the early colonists, states that the *Lively*, *Good Intent*, and *Only Son* were fitted out by Hawkins. Recollections of Mrs. Eberly quoted in Mary A. Holley MSS. biography of Stephen F. Austin (University of Texas Archives Collection).

Anglo-American, was almost entirely with United States ports, and its net result was that all the inhabitants of Texas formed closer ties with the United States than with Mexico.

The dream of trade with Santa Fe runs through Texas history like a silver thread, tying together what otherwise appear to be unconnected events. Moses Austin's dream was experienced by others; John Sibley, for instance, envisioned much the same project, but of course for the benefit of his own region. Sibley once painted a picture of steamboats running up the Red River to Santa Fe and saw great economic development of his region about Natchitoches as a result.⁴¹ Henry Austin, cousin of Stephen, tried to navigate the length of the Rio Grande in a steamboat in 1829. And Stephen Austin seems never to have forgotten completely the original dream of his father. While a prisoner in Mexico, 1833-34, Stephen wrote, "The whole trade of the Chihuahua and Sonora and New Mexico Region must ultimately enter in one of the ports of Texas, either Galveston or Matagorda."⁴² From all this it is tempting to believe that Mirabeau B. Lamar, who first came to Texas to study its history and had access to the Austin papers, received his inspiration for the Santa Fe Expedition from a true appreciation of Moses Austin's dream.

⁴¹ John Sibley to Stephen F. Austin, April 20, 1825, *AP*, Vol. I, p. 1077.

⁴² Henry Austin to Stephen F. Austin, August 3, 1829, *AP*, Vol. II, p. 244; E. C. Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin*, pp. 388-389.

Social-Science Research Grants

The Social Science Institute of Washington University has announced a new program of training in social-science research under a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health. Training is integrated around core curricula in anthropology, psychology,

and sociology, which include classroom and field work, under the supervision of the Graduate School of the University. Stipends range upward from \$2,400. N. J. Demarath is directing the program.

Monograph Prizes

Three prizes of \$1,000 each will be awarded annually by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences to the authors of monographs selected as being especially meritorious, it has been announced. One monograph each will be selected from the humanities, social

sciences, and physical and biological sciences. Final date for submission of manuscripts in 1959 is October 1. Details of the awards can be secured from the Academy at 280 Newton Street, Brookline Station, Boston 46, Massachusetts.

The Spanish Colonial Question and the Congress of Verona

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THE NAPOLEONIC WARS virtually assured the independence of Spanish America, but European recognition of this newly won independence remained an important diplomatic question for a decade thereafter (1815-25). By the fall of 1822, this question, like the slave trade, had become primarily an issue to be decided between Britain and France, since the interests of the other Continental powers were only remotely involved. The role of the Congress of Verona (October-December, 1822), appears to have been that of a watershed in the colonial quest for European recognition.

Wellington, the British plenipotentiary, carried to Verona the instructions which Foreign Secretary Castlereagh, whose death occurred August 12, 1822, had drafted for his own guidance. From the space devoted to Spanish America, there can be no doubt that Castlereagh regarded this area as more important than Spain to England. In July, 1822, Castlereagh, while preparing his instructions, had informed Wellington of his Latin American policy, emphasizing that it was exclusively Anglo-Spanish, independent of the approval or disapproval of other nations. In any case, Spain should be fully informed before any of her colonies were recognized. There should be no concert with France, Russia, or any other foreign power.¹

Castlereagh distinguished between three classes of colonies: those struggling for their independence, those negotiating with the mother country for recognition of their independence, and those that already had won their fight for freedom. Since Spain had lost control of the greater part of her South American colonies, he believed that their recognition as independent

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¹ Bathurst to Wellington, Downing Street, September 14, 1822, *Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda of Field Marshal Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington*, ed. Arthur Richard Wellesley (3 vols., London, 1867-80), Vol. I, p. 284 (hereinafter cited as *Well. Desp.*); Castlereagh's Instructions, *ibid.*, p. 287; Castlereagh to Wellington, London, July 6, 1822, Londonderry MSS., quoted in Sir Archibald Alison, *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1861), Vol. III, p. 71.

states was only a question of time. Already the navigation laws had been altered to admit their merchant ships to British ports. Having divided the Spanish colonies into three groups, Castlereagh proposed a different policy toward each category: with colonies still fighting for their independence, no relations should be established; with colonies negotiating with the mother country for recognition, relations should be suspended until the result of the negotiations was known; but every colony that had won its independence should be recognized.²

There is no mistaking the commercial motivation behind British interest in Latin America. If the occasion arose, the British plenipotentiary should state that commercial intercourse had existed between Great Britain and the Spanish American provinces for a number of years. This trade could not be obstructed or checked without arousing discontent in British commercial circles; in its last session Parliament had deferred to this vested interest by relaxing the provision of the Navigation Act which excluded all South American produce except in British ships. England's duty toward the Spanish colonies was to bring the allied cabinets to the adoption of a common policy while leaving to the London cabinet complete freedom of action.³

Convinced by reports from Paris and Vienna that the instructions carried by Wellington were inadequate, George Canning, the heir to Castlereagh's "whole heritage," including his post as foreign secretary, drafted a series of notes in September and October, 1822, which modified British policy toward Italy, the Near East, Spain, and South America, and contributed to England's break with the Alliance. Concerning the New World, he united the Spanish American and slave-trade questions: Britain, he affirmed, would recognize only those states that had completely abolished the slave trade; nor would Britain take part in any declaration of the "rights and dominion of Spain over her revolted colonies."⁴ Furthermore, Spain's inability to suppress piracy in the West Indies was another reason for British recognition.⁵

Upon his arrival in Verona on October 15, Wellington cautioned Canning not to be hasty in recognizing Colombia. He argued that commercial intercourse with Colombia would bring immediate ruin to the British West Indies since the products of the two areas were the same. The Duke acknowledged that eventually Britain must recognize the newly established governments of South America, but he favored postponing recognition until absolutely necessary. He urged Canning not to seek "reasons for recognizing them, and by recognizing them to constitute them."⁶

² Castlereagh's Instructions, *Well. Desp.*, Vol. I, pp. 286-287.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁴ Canning to Wellington, London, September 27, 1822, *ibid.*, pp. 304-305.

⁵ Canning to Wellington, London, October 1, 1822, *ibid.*, p. 357.

⁶ Wellington to Canning, Verona, October 18, 1822, *ibid.*, p. 384.

Unimpressed by this argument, Canning requested Frederick Robinson, president of the Board of Trade, to draft such commercial engagements as he and the London merchants thought advisable in the event of recognition. Informing Wellington of this step on October 29, Canning posed the question: What choice does Britain have between recognition of the colonies or vindication against Spain for injuries suffered? In view of the growing impatience of mercantile and manufacturing interests, the Foreign Secretary declared, the progress of events cannot be stopped; acquiescence to the *status quo* cannot be preached successfully to Parliament.⁷

On November 8, Canning confided to the Iron Duke that he considered "the American questions . . . out of all proportion more important . . . than the European." Britain must act quickly, he declared, or "we shall rue the loss of an opportunity never, never, to be recovered."⁸

Two days later Wellington again remonstrated with his chief, revealing his reluctance to break with the Alliance on this issue. It was, he said, a point of honor not to be in a hurry to recognize the independence of Spain's revolted colonies, and he would be ashamed to bring up the matter at the Congress if piracy in the West Indies did not give him "something to say besides the argument of commercial advantage and the clamours of our people." The Duke concluded this remonstrance with a statement that amounts to an epitome of his political creed:

I therefore have always been for going as far as was necessary, and never further; and for justifying to Spain and the Allies each particular case. By so doing, we shall stand as we ought to in the eyes of the world. If we go further, we shall lose our character for justice and forbearance, which after all is what constitutes our power.⁹

Wellington's sentiments were in keeping with his ultra-Tory prejudices, but he subordinated his disagreement with Canning to his instructions.¹⁰

The Wellington-Canning dissent was minor compared to the discord in the French cabinet between Premier Villèle and Foreign Minister Montmorency, which produced a tortuous and vacillating diplomacy. On August 26, the French council had appointed François de Chateaubriand, ambassador to London, to the French delegation at Verona. Three days later Montmorency left Paris for the Vienna conference, refusing to have any written

⁷ Canning to Wellington, London, October 29, 1822, *ibid.*, p. 466.

⁸ Canning to Wellington, London, November 8, 1822, *ibid.*, p. 511.

⁹ Wellington to Canning, Verona, November 10, 1822, *ibid.*, pp. 516-517.

¹⁰ J. E. S. Green, "Wellington, Boislecomte, and the Congress of Verona, 1822," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. I⁴ (1918), pp. 72-73; Harold Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning, 1822-1827* (London, George Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1925), pp. 31, 34, 48, 486 (hereinafter cited as *Canning*).

memorandum for his guidance, nor would he promise even to follow the oral instructions given him.¹¹ Reports from Vienna convinced Villèle, who had been appointed premier on September 4, that the foreign minister was not representing the views of the French cabinet and that his diplomacy would result in France's forfeiting to the Alliance her freedom of action in dealing with the Spanish question.

For these reasons Villèle hoped that Montmorency would return to Paris at the conclusion of the Vienna conference, whereupon Chateaubriand would leave for Verona with the general written instructions for the Congress. Not until October 14 did Villèle know definitely that Wellington and Montmorency had gone to Verona. These circumstances had delayed Chateaubriand's departure until the night of October 5. His mission was to counterbalance the influence of Montmorency and to serve as the special envoy of Villèle. Friction between the premier and his foreign minister characterized French diplomacy at Verona, afterward leading to the resignation of Montmorency.¹²

The instructions for the Congress of Verona, drafted by Villèle on August 30, directed the French delegation to propose mediation by the Alliance between Spain and Portugal and their American colonies. If this mediation was extended and rejected by the Iberian nations, the great powers should recognize the independence of those Latin American states that already "are regularly constituted." As a blow at British commerce, Villèle suggested an international convention allowing "no particular power special advantages" in South America. In an effort to unite the problem of Spain with the colonial question, the French premier urged his plenipotentiaries to have the Congress consider the questions of Spain and of Spanish and Portuguese America together and to secure a contingent treaty either in the case of a Franco-Spanish war or in the event of recognition of Hispanic American independence.¹³

¹¹ Comte Marie L. A. de Marcellus, *Chateaubriand et son temps* (Paris, 1859), pp. 282-284 (hereinafter cited as *Chateaubriand*); *Mémoires et correspondance du comte de Villèle* (5 vols., 2d ed., Paris, 1889), Vol. III, pp. 33-34 (hereinafter cited as Villèle, *Mémoires*).

¹² Stuart to Canning, No. 269, Paris, October 3, 1822, Public Record Office, London, MSS., Foreign Office, France, file 146, fol. 48 (hereinafter cited as F.O., France, 146/48); Villèle to Mme Montmorency, Paris, October 14, 1822, *Souvenirs et correspondance tirée des papiers de madame Récamier* (2 vols., Paris, 1859), Vol. I, p. 443; Villèle to Marcellus, Paris, October 6, 1822, Marcellus, *Chateaubriand*, p. 282; Chateaubriand to Villèle, Paris, October 5, 1822, Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, ed. Louis Thomas (5 vols., Paris, 1912-24), Vol. III, p. 265; *La Restauration, 1820-1824*, Vol. V of *Histoire de mon temps, mémoires du chancelier Pasquier*, ed. le duc d'Audiffret-Pasquier (6 vols., Paris, 1894), pp. 454-455.

¹³ "Instructions pour les plénipotentiaires françaises au congrès de Vérone du 30 Août 1822," France, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, MSS., Le Congrès de Vérone: correspondance et protocoles, Vol. 721 (hereinafter cited as A.A.E., Vol. 721); cf.

It is clear from these instructions that France "did not want to be the executor of a European policy in Spain" but intended to follow only her own, that Villèle—no less than Castlereagh and Canning—considered South America as important to the national interest as Spain, and that French Latin American policy was motivated by jealousy of Britain's commercial position.¹⁴

In subsequent dispatches to Montmorency, Villèle emphasized his desire to recognize the revolted American colonies of Spain and Portugal. Since Brazil already had adopted monarchial forms, the allies should not object to recognizing this state. Spain should be encouraged and aided by the "mediation of the powers and perhaps by their intervention" in establishing a Spanish prince in Mexico. Such a plan was likely to succeed, for a monarchy had been the first choice of the Mexicans. Villèle vaguely hinted that if the allies intervened in Spain, a French squadron might be used to transport a Spanish Bourbon to Mexico. As an inducement to the allied sovereigns to recognize the Latin American states that already were organized, Villèle offered to consider the conditional recognition of France's own revolted colony, Santo Domingo. Again it appears from this correspondence that the paramount purpose of French policy was to deny Britain the advantageous position of the most favored nation.¹⁵

Montmorency, however, was loath to follow his superior's instructions. He wanted neither to raise the Spanish colonial issue at the Congress, nor, if it was introduced by another nation, to unite it with the affairs of the motherland. If Spain refused mediation, which she was certain to do, the only alternative would be recognition of the South American republics, an act which the three eastern powers would regard as a violation of legitimacy. France had nothing to gain but embarrassment by bringing this question before the Congress. His view was supported by the French delegation, and the Foreign Minister, in contravention of his instructions, refused to raise the Latin American issue at Verona. In effect Montmorency created a policy of his own in opposition to that of the premier. To break this impasse, one of them had to leave the cabinet; on November 22, Montmorency left for Paris and the showdown with Villèle. For the duration of the Congress, Chateaubriand was in complete charge of French diplomacy.¹⁶

Alfred F. Nettement, *Histoire de la Restauration* (8 vols., Paris, 1860-72), Vol. VI, pp. 231-234 (hereinafter cited as *La Restauration*).

¹⁴ Nettement, *La Restauration*, Vol. VI, p. 233.

¹⁵ Villèle to Montmorency, Paris, September 23, October 12 and 15, 1822, Villèle, *Mémoires*, Vol. III, pp. 70-71, 115-116, 122-123; Villèle to Montmorency, Paris, October 4, 1822, quoted in Nettement, *La Restauration*, Vol. VI, p. 261; Villèle to Montmorency, Paris, October 17, 1822, A.A.E., Vol. 721.

¹⁶ Nettement, *La Restauration*, Vol. VI, p. 265; Wellington to Canning, Verona, November 22, 1822, *Well. Desp.*, Vol. I, p. 563.

On Sunday, November 24, two days after the departure of Montmorency, Wellington read two papers before a general conference of the allied ministers. The first concerned the slave trade; the second was a "Memorandum on the Necessity of Some Further Recognition of the Independence of the Spanish Colonies." In the latter, the Duke based recognition on commercial rather than political grounds in order to avoid raising the time-worn question of legitimacy in connection with the Spanish colonies. Realizing that many members of Parliament supported the cause of the South American republics through liberal sympathy, Wellington admitted that Britain already had recognized the youthful states so far as to accord them the rights of belligerents and to negotiate with them through the commanding officers of British ships.¹⁷ He reminded his allies that the United States had recently recognized the independence of four governments established in Latin America, and warned that nonrecognition of so large a portion of the world might disturb "the intercourse of civilized society." There had been no redress, he pointed out, for the seizure of British merchant ships in the West Indies by Spanish men-of-war.¹⁸ The Duke concluded with a condemnation of the piracy in the Caribbean Sea, which had increased as Spanish authority decreased. England could not extirpate piracy without the aid of local authorities, and this co-operation must lead inevitably to the recognition *de facto* of several colonial governments.¹⁹

Thus Wellington, by representing the pressing need for eradicating piracy, attempted to secure from the Congress a declaration that would amount to recognition of the independence of certain revolted South American colonies. He did not anticipate any objections from the Continental powers to Britain's Latin American policy, unless France or Russia voiced a complaint. No one at Verona, he believed, knew or cared anything about colonies and colonial policy except as a means of finding in British conduct some pretext for an attack on "our high character and [thus] deprecate us in the opinion of the world."²⁰

Austria, Prussia, Russia, and France replied to Wellington's note on Thursday, November 28. Metternich, the Austrian chancellor, admitted that England had a perfect right to defend her commerce from piracy, but he refused to recognize the independence of the Spanish colonies until Spain

¹⁷ Memorandum on the Spanish colonies, Verona, November 24, 1822, *Well. Desp.*, Vol. I, p. 386-387; Wellington to Canning, Verona, November 26, 1822, *ibid.*, pp. 585-586.

¹⁸ Memorandum on the Spanish colonies, Verona, November 24, 1822, *ibid.*, pp. 387-388.

¹⁹ Alison, *History of Europe from the Fall of Napoleon to the Accession of Louis Napoleon* (8 vols., Edinburgh, 1853), Vol. II, p. 629, paraphrasing Wellington's note.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; Wellington to Canning, Verona, November 19 and 26, 1822, *Well. Desp.*, Vol. I, pp. 544-545, 586.

had renounced her sovereignty over them. The Prussian and Russian notes were similar to the Austrian, except that the Prussian reply admitted the principle on which Britain had been acting.²¹ Chateaubriand maintained that France sincerely desired the restoration of Spanish authority in South America in order that peace and prosperity might return to that continent: "France acknowledges with England, that, when disputes are protracted, and the law of nations can be enforced no longer, because of the weakness of one of the belligerent powers, natural right resumes its sway."²² Still France believed that Spain—"the sovereign *de jure* of these colonies"—should be consulted first. Chateaubriand appealed to the allied powers to reach a common understanding on this issue, and to adopt some general measure, based on "the principle of generous reciprocity and perfect equality," which would safeguard the interest of Spain and those of European nations, and would reconcile the rights of legitimacy with the exigencies of policy.²³ This plea was too vague and utopian to serve any practical end except to obstruct British policy.

Chateaubriand's note cannot be reconciled with French attempts to establish Bourbon monarchies in the New World, nor with Villèle's repeatedly affirmed policy of recognition. The French premier was as badly served at Verona by Chateaubriand as by Montmorency, and the resulting confusion continued to thwart France's efforts to support a definite policy. The famous littérateur later maintained that he had expressed the views of the French people, if not of his superior. Since Chateaubriand succeeded Montmorency as foreign minister on December 29, 1822, his reply to Wellington is all the more important. By it he committed France to an evasive "wait and see" policy toward South America and indicated the course he would pursue in 1823-24.²⁴ Indeed, in May, 1824, he informed Prince Jules de Polignac, French ambassador in London, that "our policy with respect to the Spanish colonies is fully expressed in our declaration at Verona."²⁵ For the moment,

²¹ Wellington to Canning, Verona, November 29, 1822, *ibid.*, p. 616; for the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian notes on the Spanish colonies, see Sir Charles K. Webster (ed.), *Britain and the Independence of Latin America: 1812-1830* (2 vols., London, Oxford University Press, 1938), Vol. II, pp. 29-83 (hereinafter cited as *Brit. and Lat. Amer.*).

²² Vicomte de François René de Chateaubriand, *Le congrès de Vérone*, Vol. XII of *Oeuvres complètes de Chateaubriand*, ed. Charles A. Saint-Beuve (12 vols., Paris, 1929-38), pp. 46-47.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁴ Dexter Perkins, "Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine," *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXVII (1921-22), p. 208 (hereinafter cited as *Amer. Hist. Rev.*); William S. Robertson, *France and Latin America Independence* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1939), p. 244 (hereinafter cited as *France and Lat. Amer.*); Baron Edmond de Boislecomte, "Résumé historique du congrès de Vérone," A.A.E., Vol. 722, p. 108; Comte Adhémar d'Antioche, *Chateaubriand, ambassadeur à Londres (1822), d'après ses dépêches inédites* (Paris, 1912), p. 384. Boislecomte was a secretary to the French delegation at the Congress.

²⁵ Quoted in Robertson, *France and Lat. Amer.*, p. 244.

however, Chateaubriand's note did serve to obstruct British policy.

Wellington refused to participate in the discussion which followed the oral delivery of the allied notes unless the distinction was observed which Castlereagh had made between three groups of colonies: (1) those in which fighting still continued, (2) those in which the struggle had ended and the local government was in complete possession, and (3) those that were negotiating with Spain. Ignoring these categories, Chateaubriand proposed that Spain be aided in subduing her revolted colonies; but Austria, Prussia, and Russia refused to make any decision regarding the Spanish colonies without consulting Ferdinand VII. In the ensuing debate, Britain's policy of recognition *de facto* was assailed by the allied representatives. Prince Hatzfeld of the Prussian delegation declared that he had too much respect for the English Navy to believe that Britain would be forced to conclude treaties with the South American rebels or that she could not, by her own force, clear the seas of pirates. The Iron Duke was "visibly embarrassed"; the criticism of the allied ministers seemed to justify his protest to Canning of November 10. It was the view of Britain's allies that it would be a contradiction to support reconciliation between Spain and her colonies and at the same time to prejudice these efforts by adopting a measure that would acknowledge Spanish colonial independence.²⁶

On November 28, 1822—the day the allies replied to Wellington's note on Latin America—Manoel Rodrigues Gameiro Pessoa, a Brazilian envoy, arrived in Verona and was issued a passport by Metternich allowing him to remain in the city. His mission was to obtain recognition of Brazilian independence; toward this end he presented to Metternich a petition from the Prince Regent, Dom Pedro. To the great surprise of the Congress, Metternich, the ardent champion of Spanish legitimacy, requested on the morning of November 29 that Gameiro be admitted to their discussions as the official plenipotentiary of Brazil. He proposed, too, that a conference be held in London to determine what should be done about Brazil, apparently in the hope of preventing British separation from the Alliance on the colonial question. Austria, who still maintained a minister at Rio, supported the Brazilian petition. There was a difference, Metternich observed, between the Spanish colonies and Brazil: the former were republics, whereas Brazil was a monarchy.²⁷ His policy toward Brazil was not hypocritical, but realistic,

²⁶ La Ferronnays to Montmorency, December 1, 1822, A.A.E., Vol. 721; Boislecomte, A.A.E., Vol. 722.

²⁷ Boislecomte, "Résumé historique des congrès de: Troppau, Laybach, et Vérone," A.A.E., Vol. 720, p. 411; Wellington to Canning, Verona, November 29; and Paris, December 10, 1822, *Well. Desp.*, Vol. I, pp. 616, 642; Duvergier de Hauranne, *Histoire du gouvernement parlementaire en France, 1814-1848* (10 vols., Paris, 1857-72), Vol. VII, pp. 200-201 (hereinafter cited as *Hist. du govt. parl.*).

and it is quite probable that Friederich von Gentz, his close friend and co-worker, was responsible for this attitude. Another factor was, of course, the family connection between the rulers of Brazil and Austria: in 1817 Dom Pedro had married the Archduchess Leopoldina, a daughter of Francis I. The Austrian chancellor, aware of the close bond between Britain and Portugal, did not wish to become involved with the British government for the sake of logic. In the distinction drawn, he hoped to appeal to the conservatism of the allied ministers, and he almost succeeded.²⁸

Britain and France took *ad referendum* his proposal for a conference, though Wellington considered London the most inconvenient of all locations for a conference on the affairs of Portugal and Brazil. Prussia and Russia, however, appeared disposed to acquiesce in Austria's requests. When the Duke perceived that the recognition of Brazilian independence was receiving support, he did an about-face, contradicting the arguments he had just advanced in his note on the Spanish American colonies. He protested that the allies could not possibly mediate between Portugal and Brazil since only one party had requested mediation. Moreover, he could neither recognize the independence of Brazil nor support the seating of its minister since he had no instructions on such an unforeseen question. Finally, he reminded the allies "how inconsistent it would be with all that had passed in this congress if the independence of Brazil was in any manner recognized . . ." The allies concurred in Wellington's observations, and the subject was unanimously dropped.²⁹

The most plausible explanation of Wellington's about-face is that he feared British recognition of Brazil would offend Portugal, with whom Britain had a profitable commercial treaty. His private convictions, too, were opposed to immediate recognition. He cannot be accused of acting in concert with the allies, because on this issue he opposed them. Nor was he guilty of violating instructions, for they did not cover such an unexpected question. On November 29 and December 10, 1822, he candidly informed Canning of this affair and of his role in it; the Foreign Secretary never criticized his stand. By not participating in a general discussion on the colonial issue, Wellington left the British cabinet at full liberty to take whatever steps it deemed necessary and proper. Moreover, he inserted in the Protocol of November 28 a stipulation reserving to his government complete freedom of action. Can-

²⁸ Paul Sweet, *Friederich von Gentz: Defender of the Old Order* (Madison, University of Wisconsin, 1941), pp. 236, 239 (hereinafter cited as *Gentz*). Gentz was also the secretary of the Congress. Hauranne, *Hist. du govt. parl.*, Vol. VII, pp. 200-201; Baron de Loreto, "Reconnaissance de l'Empire du Brézil par les puissances européennes (1823-28)," *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, Vol. III (1889), p. 506.

²⁹ Wellington to Canning, Paris, December 10, 1822, *Well. Desp.*, Vol. I, pp. 642-643; Robertson, *France and Lat. Amer.*, pp. 247-248.

ning regarded a free hand a necessity because he "wished recognition to be a British, not a European action."³⁰

Before adjourning the last session of the Congress of Verona on December 14, Prince Metternich, Count Karl von Nesselrode (Russian foreign minister), and Count Christian von Bernstorff (Prussian foreign minister), signed a circular dispatch, drafted by Gentz, to be sent to their representatives at the various courts of Europe. This circular summarized and commented on the results of the Congress, declaring, in part, that Spain's colonies had justified their separation from the motherland by the very same political philosophy on which Spain had founded her constitution, but which she condemned in South America. This observation coincided with the consensus of the Continental diplomatic corps that the policy of Spain's constitutional regime toward the insurgent colonies was inconsistent with its attitude toward the absolute government of the king. As Baron Edmond de Boislecomte commented, it was astonishing that so many Spaniards fail to see that the principle of popular sovereignty gives "to the Spanish Americans the same right to free themselves from Spain as that which the Spaniards had invoked to liberate themselves from absolute power."³¹

When Wellington passed through Paris on his return to England, he found Villèle alarmed over the intended British expedition to the West Indies. In an interview with the duke on December 10, the French premier hinted that if Spain wished to reconquer her insurgent colonies, France would place a fleet at her disposal. So annoyed was Villèle by Spain's partiality toward England that he frankly informed Sir Charles Stuart, British ambassador to Paris, that a favorable Franco-Spanish commercial treaty would contribute more than any other measure to the prevention of a rupture between France and Spain.³²

Metternich's views, however, contrasted sharply with those of Villèle. Not the universal reactionary that he sometimes is alleged to have been, he privately favored recognition of Hispanic American independence. A few months after the Congress, the Austrian chancellor confided to Sir Henry Wellesley, British ambassador to Vienna, that he considered as hopeless any project to regain for Spain her lost colonies. He realized, too, that it would be impossible to act without British aid, and that armed intervention on behalf of Spain would probably mean war with England.³³

³⁰ Wellington to Canning, Verona, November 29, 1822, *Well. Desp.*, Vol. I, p. 616; Webster, *Brit. and Lat. Amer.*, Vol. I, p. 21.

³¹ Circular of December 14, 1822, Verona, F.O., Austria, 120/54; Boislecomte, A.A.E., Vol. 722; Robertson, *France and Lat. Amer.*, p. 247.

³² Stuart to Canning, No. 333, Paris, December 5, 1822, F.O., France, 146/48; Wellington to Canning, Paris, December 10, 1822, *Well Desp.*, Vol. I, p. 639.

³³ Quoted in Perkins, *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 213; Metternich to Nesselrode,

After the French invasion of Spain on April 7, 1823, Villèle and Chateaubriand returned to the policy of creating Bourbon monarchies in the New World which, though independent, still would be Spanish appanages. Villèle even suggested to the Duc d'Angoulême, commander-in-chief of the French army, that he spare a few ships and men for this project, but the Duc refused, alleging that all resources were needed to complete the conquest of the Peninsula. It is significant, however, that neither Villèle nor his foreign minister proposed the use of armed force by France to restore Spain's rule over her disaffected colonies. The Paris cabinet, like Metternich, knew well that such intervention would be "utterly hopeless" and, moreover, might lead to war with England.³⁴

As the French army rapidly overran the Iberian Peninsula, Canning's anxiety concerning France's policy toward Latin America grew apace. Would military success embolden France to attempt armed intervention in the Spanish colonies? At the beginning of October, 1823, the British foreign secretary, in an effort to clarify French policy, engaged Prince Jules de Polignac in a series of conversations, culminating in the "Polignac Memorandum" (October 9, 1823), by which France was pledged not to use armed force against the Spanish American colonies. The Paris cabinet, however, preferred to postpone action on the colonial question until the restoration of Ferdinand VII.³⁵

Although it may appear that British sea power alone had vetoed French action, such was not the case. France, no less than England, opposed the re-establishment of the old regime in Latin America. Moreover, Angoulême, Metternich, and Ferdinand all protested against the plan of Villèle and Chateaubriand to create Bourbon appanages in the New World.³⁶

Although the common struggle of Europe against Napoleonic France had practically assured the independence of Spanish America, it did not bring immediate European recognition of this recently acquired independence. By compelling the Continental powers to take a stand at the Congress of Verona on the Spanish colonial question, so important to Britain, Canning revealed their disunity and produced an impasse with them which, combined with his

quoted in *ibid.*, pp. 216-217; Sweet, *Gentz*, pp. 236, 241; see also William S. Robertson, "Metternich's Attitude toward Revolutions," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. XXI (1941), pp. 550-558 (hereinafter cited as *HAHR*).

³⁴ Perkins, *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 210-211; Maurice Bourquin, *Histoire de la Sainte Alliance* (Genève, 1954), pp. 408-409 (hereinafter cited as *La Sainte Alliance*).

³⁵ Bourquin, *La Sainte Alliance*, pp. 414-417, 422; Robertson, *France and Lat. Amer.*, pp. 267-270; Temperley, *Canning*, pp. 115-117.

³⁶ Carlos A. Villanueva, *La monarquía en América: la Santa Alianza* (Paris [1912]), pp. 73-74; William S. Robertson, "The Policy of Spain Toward its Revolted Colonies, 1820-1823," *HAHR*, Vol. VI (1926), pp. 44-46.

recognition of Mexico, Colombia, and Argentina in December, 1824, and Brazil in August, 1825, hastened the collapse of the Alliance. For the sake of legitimacy and Spanish sovereignty, Austria, Prussia, and Russia would do nothing, though Prussia agreed with Britain that the need for destroying piracy might lead to recognition, and Austria on December 30, 1825, recognized only Brazil. These powers would not act because their interests were only remotely involved, and they could not act because they lacked the requisite sea power. The Alliance, therefore, no more gave France a mandate to intervene in Spanish America than in Spain itself.

The Gameiro incident caused Wellington and Metternich to reverse sides, but the result was the same—a stalemate, the corollary of which was to leave to Britain independent action, just as the Spanish European question was resolved by permitting France a free hand. The negotiations at Verona indicate, however, that Villèle, as surely as Castlereagh and Canning, considered the Spanish colonial question as far more important than its European counterpart.

France had a navy and merchant marine, but they were too small to offer a serious threat to British commerce. Consequently, the keynote of French policy—despite its vacillation and lack of direction—was equal concessions with Britain. France, like England, desired Latin American independence, but Villèle and Chateaubriand, restrained by the Family Compact with Spain, were reluctant to initiate steps toward its recognition. Among the Continental allies, moreover, only Russia encouraged the French dreams of Bourbon monarchies in the New World.

If French ministers were jealous of Britain's commercial pre-eminence in South America, no British statesman could look with equanimity on a French garrison at Cádiz.³⁷ Although these two attitudes might seem unrelated, they were, in fact, closely connected: the French invasion of Spain, a by-product of the Congress of Verona, induced Canning to recognize Latin American independence before he otherwise would have, thus legalizing a trade which, though lucrative (£5,600,000 in British exports by 1823), was largely contraband.³⁸ It is precisely in this causal relationship that the Congress appears to have been a watershed in the colonial quest for European recognition.

³⁷ Chateaubriand to La Ferronnays, Paris, August 23, 1823, Chateaubriand, *Correspondance générale*, Vol. IV, p. 379.

³⁸ Captain Josceline Bagot (ed.), *George Canning and his Friends* (London, 1909), Vol. II, pp. 144–145; Dorothy B. Goebel, "British Trade to the Spanish Colonies, 1796–1823," *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XLIII (1938), pp. 288, 291, 309, 314–318; Judith B. Williams, "The Establishment of British Commerce with Argentina," *HAHR*, Vol. XV (1935), pp. 43–45.

The Constitution of the State of Alaska

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RECENT LEGISLATION ADMITTING ALASKA as the forty-ninth state has brought to the fore the question of the nature and content of the constitution for this newest addition to the Union. The first new state in forty-six years, Alaska has aroused real interest concerning the character of the basic law of that commonwealth. Barring the constitution drawn in 1950 for the projected state of Hawaii, this is the first original state constitution since Arizona was admitted in 1912.

"American Alaska" has been an actuality since 1867, when it was purchased from Russia for \$7,200,000. For some years after the purchase, in spite of a growing population of Americans, there was no territorial government provided for Alaska. In 1872 a number of residents appealed for representation in Congress. In 1884 the name "district" was given to Alaska. This designation became "territory" after the Supreme Court's decision in *Rasmussen v. United States* (197 U.S. 516, 1905) determined that Alaska was an "incorporated" territory along with Oklahoma, Arizona, and New Mexico. This judgment was based on intentions expressed in the treaty with Russia, as well as in a series of Congressional acts beginning in 1868.

The organic act establishing territorial government in its present form was enacted by Congress in 1912, and the first statehood bill was introduced in 1916 by Delegate James Wickersham. Many such measures have been introduced since then. On four occasions such legislation was reported favorably by committee to the House. One of these passed the House but not the Senate. In the Senate, two "statehood" bills were introduced and favorably reported by committee, and one of them passed. These were "enabling acts" authorizing the territory to form a constitution and state government. The current statehood act contains no such provision, for in 1955 the people of Alaska proceeded without "permission" to elect delegates to a constitutional convention. In November, 1955, fifty-five delegates met for seventy-five days at the University of Alaska and drafted a proposed state constitution. It was adopted by the convention on February 5, 1956. On April 24, 1956,

this constitution was approved by the voters of Alaska by more than a two to one majority. Incidentally, in this same election, the voters of Alaska authorized the election of two "Senators" and one "Representative" to go to Congress to seek statehood, their expenses to be met through appropriations by the territorial legislature. A similar procedure was followed in 1796 in Tennessee and later in Michigan, Iowa, California, Minnesota, Oregon, and Kansas.

The Alaskan Statehood Act (H.R. 7999) provided that the Territorial governor was to call an election so that the voters could (1) adopt or reject the boundaries of the State of Alaska as prescribed by Congress in this act, and (2) approve or disapprove the provisions of the act reserving rights and powers to the federal government. With the certification of the favorable results of the plebiscite by the governor to the President, Alaska was to be deemed admitted to the Union. Also, the governor was required to call a primary election and a general election for all elective officers provided for in the constitution for the new state, including also the two senators and the one representative that Alaska is to have until the next reapportionment after the 1960 census. An interesting point is that this representative is to be, temporarily, in addition to the 435 members of the House now prescribed by law, and his election is not to affect the present basis of apportionment. This election was held November 25, 1958.

The constitution of the State of Alaska contains a preamble and fifteen articles. The Preamble reads as follows:

We the people of Alaska, grateful to God and to those who founded our nation and pioneered this great land, in order to secure and transmit to succeeding generations our heritage of political, civil, and religious liberty within the Union of States, do ordain and establish this constitution for the State of Alaska.

All state constitutions contain some statements of the rights of persons under the state's jurisdiction. In the Alaskan constitution this is called a "Declaration of Rights" (Art. I). Here a specific statement recognizes that all persons have a natural right to life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, property, and equality of rights, opportunities, and legal protection. The first section concludes with a statement recognizing the truism that all persons have obligations to the people and to the state. Section 2 subscribes to the concept that ultimate popular sovereignty and the object of government are for the furtherance of the general welfare. Political rights cannot be denied because of race, color, creed, or national origin.

Sections 4, 5, and 6 guarantee the specific freedoms of religion, speech, press, assembly, and petition. Section 7 is the familiar due-process clause, with an additional guarantee of fair and just treatment in the course of legis-

lative and executive investigations—a direct result of Congressional-committee activity throughout the past twenty years. Sections 8 through 15 set forth the specifics of criminal-trial procedure guarantees: grand-jury indictment or prosecution by information, double jeopardy and self-incrimination, a definition of treason and procedure for conviction, speedy jury trial, accusation, bail, witnesses, counsel, fines, punishments, habeas corpus, and searches and seizures. All these guarantees are phrased almost exactly as they are in the Constitution of the United States. Section 15 imposes restrictions on the state of Alaska in the area of bills of attainder, ex post facto laws, impairment of the obligation of contracts, irrevocable grants, and convictions involving punishments going beyond the life of the accused.

Section 16 guarantees trial by jury in civil suits. The minimum amount necessary to be in controversy is set at \$250, in contrast to the figure of \$20 in the federal constitution, an obvious reflection of the inflationary aspects of our economy. Another innovation is the provision for a verdict by not less than three-fourths of a jury, and, in courts not of record, juries of not fewer than six members may be impaneled. Sections 17 through 20 include guarantees covering imprisonment for debt, eminent domain, a state militia, and the quartering of soldiers. Section 21, after the fashion of the Ninth Amendment in the federal constitution, assures that the "principle of exclusion" will not be applied to the area of personal rights by noting that the fact that certain rights are listed in the constitution is not to be interpreted as indicating that the people have no other rights.

Article II covers legislative matters. The legislature is to consist of a House of Representatives of forty members and a Senate of twenty members. One might have thought that the situation here would follow the example set by the Nebraska unicameral experiment. Only qualified voters with at least three years of residence in Alaska and one year in the district from which they are to be chosen are eligible. Residence must immediately precede filing for office. Age minimums are twenty-one years for representatives and twenty-five for senators; terms are two and four years, respectively, for representatives and senators, with the principle of overlapping terms being applied to senators. The legislature is empowered to provide for the filling of vacancies, and it may also set salaries for members. Legislators are barred from holding any other federal or state office. The usual legislative immunities are extended to members. Annual sessions are to begin the fourth Monday in January, subject to optional legislative change. The Alaskan convening date coincides with that of most other states. Special sessions may be called by the governor or by a vote of two-thirds of the legislature taken by the Legislative Council or as determined by legislation. This "self-starting" provision for special sessions is in the constitutions of

only a few other states, chiefly in the South. All special sessions are limited to thirty days but no limits is placed on regular sessions. As is true in more than half of the states, at special sessions called by the governor, only legislative subjects suggested by him can be considered by the legislature.

Provision is made for a Legislative Council, to meet between legislative sessions, but no details of the council's composition are set forth. Each house is given the usual powers and duties of determining rules of procedure, choosing officers, judging the election and qualifications of members, and keeping a journal. A quorum is set at a majority of full membership. The legislature is mandated to regulate lobbying. Despite granting the legislature the right to determine rules of procedure, certain details of the legislative process—such as the form of bills, the required three readings, and the vote needed for passage—are specifically set down in the constitution. The governor is given a suspensory veto that can be overridden by a two-thirds vote of the legislature, with the two houses meeting in joint session. This provision for joint-session action is unique; no other state has adopted such a provision.

The governor has the item veto as applied to appropriation bills, as is true in most states. Such item vetoes and vetoes of entire revenue and appropriation bills can be overridden only by a three-fourths vote of a joint session. The governor has fifteen days to consider a bill normally; this increases to twenty days if the legislature adjourns. Two aspects of this are worth noting. Only Colorado, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania allow the governor a longer period of time for consideration. However, Alaska's governor is to have no pocket veto. Inaction by the governor results in the bill's becoming law at the expiration of the stated period of time, as is true in most states.

The prohibition of local or special legislative acts is made contingent on the inapplicability of a general act, and this latter point is made subject to judicial determination. Local acts involving local appropriations are made subject to local referendum.

Impeachment procedure is different from that in any other state; it is to originate in the Senate by a two-thirds vote, to be followed by trial in the House of Representatives. Conviction requires a two-thirds vote. There is the germ of the possibility of an administrative court in the provision empowering the legislature to establish procedure for suits against the state. Probably it will turn out to be just another court of claims.

Article III is the executive article. As in all other states there is a single chief executive, the governor. Qualifications for this office include a seven-year minimum period of United States citizenship and a similar period of Alaskan residence, a minimum age of thirty years (which is usual for the other states), and that he be a qualified voter. A plurality vote is sufficient

for the governor's election, a provision also true in all but four states, where a majority is required. The term of office is four years, as in most states, the term beginning the first Monday in December. He is limited to two successive terms, as is the President. The governor is ineligible for any other federal or state office, thus precluding the possibility of "doubling," as practiced by Huey Long in Louisiana and LaFollette in Wisconsin.

One of the unusual features of the constitution is the office of secretary of state. The name of the candidate for this office is to appear jointly on ballots with the candidate for governor, and the two are to be elected together. There is no office of lieutenant governor, as there is in three-fourths of the states. In case of the temporary absence of the governor, presumably either within or outside the state, the secretary of state is to serve as acting governor. In case of vacancy in the office, the secretary of state succeeds. In case of the death, resignation, or disqualification of the governor-elect, the secretary of state succeeds to the office for the full term. If the governor-elect does not assume office for some other reason, the secretary of state serves in an acting capacity for six months, at which point he then succeeds to the office. Succession beyond the secretary of state is left for legislative determination.

Reflections of the continuing discussion regarding Presidential disability are evident in two sections of this article dealing with the executive. First, whenever the governor has been continuously absent for six months owing to mental or physical disability, the office is to be deemed vacated. The legislature is empowered to prescribe the procedure for determining such absence and disability. Second, when the secretary of state succeeds to the office of governor, he is to have the title, powers, duties, and emoluments of that office. This provision is based on the current federal custom originating with the succession of Vice-President Tyler.

The governors of all states possess only powers granted by their respective state constitutions, and the powers granted to the governor of Alaska are the usual ones found in the other states—faithfully to execute the laws, call special legislative sessions, send messages to the legislature, serve as commander-in-chief of the "armed forces of the state," proclaim martial law (but not for longer than twenty days without legislative approval), pardon offenses (subject to procedure prescribed by law), appoint department heads and members of regulatory and quasi-judicial agencies (subject to confirmation by a majority vote of a joint session of the legislature), make recess appointments, and remove individual department heads for proven cause.

This power of removal is important in view of the fact that the courts of the other states do not assume that because the governors have the power of appointment they also have the power of removal.

An unusual feature of the Alaskan constitution is that it makes almost no

provision at all for elective executive officers. Most state constitutions "freeze" a large number of such offices as auditor, treasurer, attorney general, and superintendent of public instruction, all to be chosen by popular vote, thus reducing the power of both the legislature and the governor, particularly the governor, and opening the way for intraadministration feuding. This has been avoided by the framers of the Alaskan constitution.

The governor is authorized to make changes in the organization of the allowable twenty principal departments of the executive branch (these to be established by law), or he may make changes in the assignment of functions to these units. Where these changes require legislation, the governor's executive orders will go before the legislature and will be effective at the close of the session or at the end of sixty days unless disapproved by a majority vote of the two houses in joint session. This reminds one of current federal reorganization procedure as well as the reorganization legislation recently adopted in Michigan.

Incidentally, the relatively large number of actions prescribed to be taken by the Alaskan legislature in joint session is striking; the foregoing provision for disapproval of executive reorganization orders is simply one example. This emphasis on joint action is another of the unique features of this constitution and would seem to mean that, within limits, its framers regard unicameralism favorably.

Article IV deals with the judiciary. Two courts are specifically established by the constitution—a Supreme Court and Superior Court—the organization of lesser courts being left to the discretion of the legislature. The Supreme Court is to consist of three justices, including the chief justice, but, at the request of the court, the legislature may increase this number. The Superior Court is established as a trial court of general jurisdiction with five judges, but this number may be increased by legislative action. Citizenship and admission to the bar are set as minimum qualifications for judges, but added requirements may be set by law.

The procedure for the choice of judges follows in general the plans inaugurated by California and Missouri a few years ago, particularly the Missouri plan. A Judicial Council of seven members is established. Three of these are to be attorneys, named by the governing body of the state bar; three others are not to be attorneys and are to be named by the governor, subject to confirmation by a joint session of the legislature. The chief justice of the Supreme Court will serve ex officio as the seventh member and chairman of the council. One of the chief functions of this body will be to nominate two or more persons as potential members of the Supreme Court or Superior Court. From these the governor is to appoint one, who will serve for three years. At the first general election after that period he is to be sub-

ject to approval or rejection on a nonpartisan ballot, obviously standing on his record of the previous three years. If approved, he is then to be subject to a similar popular check every tenth year, if a Supreme Court justice, or every sixth year, if a Superior Court judge. Prior to such vote, he is to file a declaration of candidacy to succeed himself. If the judge should be rejected on any occasion by a majority of those voting on the question, or if he fails to file a declaration of candidacy, the office becomes vacant ninety days after the date of that election.

The Judicial Council is to serve as a research body, making studies and reports and recommendations to the Supreme Court and the legislature in an effort to improve the administration of justice. Another duty imposed on the Council is to call attention to a judge so incapacitated that he cannot perform his duties. Then the governor, in the case of a Supreme Court justice, is to appoint a three-man board to investigate. If this board recommends retirement, the governor may then retire the justice. In the case of any other judge, the Supreme Court by majority vote may retire the judge on the recommendation of the Judicial Council. A mandatory retirement age is set at seventy, but retired judges may be given special assignments.

Removal of judges for cause is by impeachment. The legislature is empowered to set compensation for judges. Their salaries may be reduced only if all salaried officers of the state are similarly decreased.

The Supreme Court is empowered to make rules governing the administration and procedure of all courts, but the legislature by a two-thirds vote of each house may change these rules. The chief justice of the Supreme Court is made the administrative head of all courts, with the power to assign judges. Provision is made for an administrative director, to be named by the chief justice with the approval of the Supreme Court. This office corresponds to that of court administrator, operative in more than a third of the states, ranging from Massachusetts to California and from Louisiana to Michigan.

Article V deals with suffrage and elections. Age nineteen is set as the minimum for voting. No other state has this age, but Georgia and Kentucky have an eighteen-year minimum. One year is set as the period for legal residence in Alaska; United States citizenship, thirty days' residence in the election district, and the ability to speak English, unless prevented by physical disability, are additional voting qualifications. The date of general elections is set for the second Tuesday in October of the even-numbered years but may be changed by law. No other state has this election date, and it will be interesting to see whether Congress permits a second exception (Maine is the exception) to the date of Congressional elections or whether the October date will apply only to Alaskan state and local elections. If Congress does not permit it, voters will go to the polls twice in quick succession every

two years. The legislature is specifically empowered to prescribe methods of voting, including absentee voting, with the proviso that voting is to be secret. Also the legislature may determine the procedure for deciding disputed elections, with the guarantee of right of appeal to the courts. Voters' registration is to be permanent. As is common in other states, persons judicially determined to be of unsound mind and those convicted of felony involving moral turpitude are barred from voting until these disqualifications have been removed.

Article VI is devoted entirely to legislative apportionment. The governor is mandated to reapportion membership in the House of Representatives following the official report of each decennial census; only the civilian population is to be considered in reapportionment. The method of equal proportions is set down as required. Under current legislation, this is the method mandated for Congressional reapportionment among the states. The Alaskan reapportionment picture is even more complicated than is common in the other states owing to the fact that twenty-four election districts are established for the House and sixteen election districts for the Senate. Both representatives and senators are to be apportioned to these districts and a temporary apportionment is set forth in the constitution in Article XIV. The governor is empowered to redistrict, but any new district must be of contiguous, compact, and relatively integrated socio-economic territory. Each new district must contain population at least equal to the quotient obtained by dividing the total civilian population of Alaska by forty—the established total membership of the House of Representatives. Each district established by this constitution is to have one representative if it has the major fraction of this quotient. If a district falls below one-half the quotient, it is to be attached to another district within that Senate district.

Provision is made for a Reapportionment Board, to act in an advisory capacity to the governor. It is to consist of five members named by the governor. These positions are to be distributed geographically, without partisan consideration, and are not to be held by public employees or officials. Within ninety days after the official report of each decennial census this board is to submit to the governor a reapportionment and redistricting plan. He has ninety days to consider the board's plan before proclaiming a final one; any variations from the board's plan are to carry the governor's explanation. A unique provision permits any qualified voter to apply to the Superior Court (with appeal to the Supreme Court) for a writ of mandamus or other court action to compel the governor to perform his reapportionment duties. It will be interesting to see how this develops if occasion ever calls it into use. Almost without exception the courts of the United States have avoided any attempt to force action by governors in matters mandated by

state constitutions or even the federal Constitution, as, for example in *Kentucky v. Dennison* (24 Howard 66, 1861).

In Article VII the legislature is required to provide public schools, open to all children of the state. These schools are to be free from sectarian control, and no money is to be paid from public funds for the direct benefit of any religious or other private educational institution. The University of Alaska is established as the state university, with a governing Board of Regents, one of whose functions is to appoint the University's president.

As might be expected, considerable attention is given (Art. VIII) to safeguarding the public interest in and benefits from natural resources. Fish, wildlife, waters, forests, lands, tidal lands, and areas of natural beauty or of historic, cultural, recreational, or scientific value are given special treatment by charging the legislature with their utilization, development, and conservation. Special sections of this article set limitations on the lease, sale, and grant of the public domain. The means of establishing mineral rights and their continuation are detailed. Water rights are to be governed by priority of appropriation. Other sections of this article guarantee free access to navigable or public waters and prohibit any exclusive right of fishery in natural waters. The nature of the Alaskan situation explains the provision that eminent-domain proceedings may be used to provide private persons access for the extraction or utilization of resources. Just compensation is guaranteed.

Article IX covers the area of finance and taxation. Notable are the provisions guaranteeing that real property belonging to nonresident United States citizens is not to be taxed at a discriminatory rate, and the provisions exempting from taxation property devoted exclusively to nonprofit religious, charitable, cemetery, and educational purposes. State debt is restricted to that authorized for capital improvements, subject to popular ratification by a majority of those voting on the question. A similar restriction is placed on debt contracted by political subdivisions of the state. State debt may be contracted without such ratification, however, for such purposes as repelling invasion, suppressing insurrection, and redeeming indebtedness outstanding at the time of adoption of this state constitution. Revenue bonds, special assessments on benefited property, and refunding activities on a state or local level are also exempted from the restrictions on contracting debt.

It is not at all unusual for state debt to be strictly limited or even prohibited; three-fourths of the states have some such regulation. The provision in the Alaskan constitution combines the two most commonly found types of restrictions on state borrowing: the purposes for which debt may be incurred, and approval by the electorate in a referendum.

Budgetary provisions call for the governor to submit to the legislature an

annual budget along with covering appropriation and revenue bills. Relatively few states have such a grant of power to the governor in their constitutions. An auditor, appointed by the legislature to serve at its pleasure, is to have the power of postaudit.

Article X—the local-government section of the constitution—provides that boroughs and cities are to be the local units of government. The entire state is to be divided into boroughs rather than the usual counties of all the other states except Louisiana, which has parishes. A recognition of the frontier character of the Alaskan country is apparent in the provision for organized and unorganized boroughs. The legislature is given free discretion concerning their establishment except for some generalized aims in the constitution. Boroughs are to be established primarily on the basis of population, geography, economy, and transportation, and the common interest of each borough in these factors is to be taken into consideration to the maximum degree possible.

Oddly enough, the "headless" character of county government in the other states is carried over into the borough. The governing body of an organized borough is to be an assembly, apparently a sort of glorified county board.

The constitution provides that "service areas" may be established by a borough assembly for the purpose of providing special services. Presumably these will be analogous to special districts used in a number of the states. These service areas may be empowered by the assembly to levy taxes, charges, or assessments. This provision, along with the one permitting agreements for joint administration of any functions or powers by any local government with any other government, with the state, or with the United States, offers real potential in the matter of regionalism within this vast area.

Cities are to be largely a part of the borough within which they are incorporated. This presumably would prevent any such situation as is found in Virginia, where cities are legal "islands" within counties. Although home rule is recognized for first-class cities, evidently the practical effectiveness of this is reduced by having the governing body of a city set, without local option, as the council. Boroughs of the first class may adopt home rule, corresponding, of course, to county home-rule in other states. These charters and amendments are to be submitted by the borough assembly or the city council for popular ratification (by a majority of those voting on the specific question). The legislature is empowered to extend home rule to other boroughs and cities.

Frequently over the years the suggestion has been made that a Department of Local Affairs be established in the administrative organization of states to advise and assist local governmental units in carrying out their

activities. This seems especially important now that so many local activities involve technical and scientific knowledge. The Alaskan constitution mandates the establishment of such an agency.

Provision is made in Article XI for the initiative, referendum, and recall. Procedure for their use, however, varies a bit from that generally followed in the other states. As an initial step, an application is set up, signed by not fewer than one hundred qualified voters and filed with the secretary of state of Alaska. If he finds this in proper form, he is to so certify; his failure to certify is subject to judicial review. After certification, the second step consists of a petition signed by a number of qualified voters equal to 10 per cent of those voting in the preceding general election and residing in at least two-thirds of the election districts of the state. This petition is also to be filed with the secretary of state. If this is an initiative petition, a ballot title and proposition summarizing the proposed law are to be placed on the ballot for the first state-wide election held more than 120 days after adjournment of the legislature following the filing of the petition. If this is a referendum petition, it must be filed within 90 days after adjournment of the legislative session at which the act was passed. Then a ballot title and proposition summarizing the act are to be placed on the ballot for the first state-wide election held more than 180 days after the legislative adjournment. A majority vote *on the proposition* serves either to enact the initiated measure or to reject the referred act. An initiated law becomes effective 90 days after certification of the results of the election and the legislature can amend it but cannot repeal it for two years. An act rejected by referendum is void 30 days after certification of the election results. Neither the initiative nor the referendum can be applied to the dedication of revenues, appropriations, or local or special legislation. In addition, the initiative is not to be used to create courts or to determine the jurisdiction or rules of courts. Also, the referendum is not to be applied to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of public peace, health, or safety.

All elected public officials in the state, except judicial officers, are made subject to the recall. This includes local-government officers as well as those of the state government. While three-fourths of the states make provision for the recall of municipal officers, only about one-third permit the recall of state officers. The exemption of judges is not unusual. Only about ten states allow the recall of judges, and the recall appears never to have been used against judges of the higher state courts. Procedure and bases for the use of the recall are left for determination by the legislature.

The miscellaneous provisions of Article XII are chiefly those determining the boundaries of the state as being coterminous with those of the Territory of Alaska, and disqualifying for state office any person who himself

advocates or who belongs to any organization that advocates the violent overthrow of the state or federal government.

The legislature is mandated to establish a personnel system embodying the merit principle. Happily, the term "civil service" is not used. Further, retirement systems of both the state and local governments are given contractual status, thus securing them from impairment.

The "exclusion principle" is recognized with the provision that "the enumeration of specified powers in the constitution shall not be construed as limiting the powers of the state." Incidentally, even a casual reader of this constitution must be struck by the number of provisions empowering the legislature of the state to perform certain actions, in view of the doctrine of inherent state powers. In an older state with a long history of restrictive court interpretations, this would be understandable. In an original constitution of a new state, it is mildly surprising but probably indicative of extreme care in drafting.

Amendments to this constitution can be proposed by a two-thirds vote of each house of the legislature. Ratification is to be by popular vote, with a majority required for adoption. Provision is also made for calling constitutional conventions, which are to have "plenary power to amend or revise the constitution, subject only to ratification by the people. No call for a constitutional convention shall limit these powers of the convention" (Art. XIII). Thus does the Alaskan constitution forestall a legal problem that has plagued a number of states, that is, the question of whether a call for a constitutional convention can limit the powers of that body or whether it is the possessor of proximate state sovereignty when convened.

Embodied in the provisions for a constitutional convention is the periodic submission plan already found in eight other state constitutions. The Alaskan version provides that if a convention has not been held within a ten-year period, the secretary of state is to place on the ballot at the next general election the question: "Shall there be a Constitutional Convention?" (In other states this period ranges from seven years to twenty years.) If this is favored by a majority vote, delegates to the convention are to be chosen at the next regular state-wide election or at a special election. The call is to be issued by the secretary of state and, in the absence of changes by law, the details of the convention are to follow those for the 1955 convention. Appropriation of funds for the convention is automatic and given priority of claim on the state treasury.

As there must be in all new constitutions, the constitution of Alaska has a Schedule Article which contains the details and step-by-step procedures for its going into effect (Art. XV). All laws in force in the Territory of Alaska are to continue in force until their expiration, amendment, or repeal. Simi-

larly, all officers of the Territory and of all local governments are to continue in office until superseded. The courts are likewise to continue operations until the new courts are organized. At that time, pending cases are to be transferred to the proper state court as though begun there.

The governor of the Territory is to issue a proclamation for the holding of primary and general elections of state officers, as well as two senators and a representative to serve in Congress. In order to fit the new senators into the overlapping-term pattern of the United States Senate, one will serve for a short term and one for a long term. "When the President of the United States issues a proclamation announcing the results of the election, and the State has been admitted into the Union, the officers elected and qualified shall assume office" (Art. XV, Sec. 13).

Debts, assets, and records of the Territory of Alaska are to become those of the state. The capital of the state is to remain at Juneau, and the official seal remains intact except that the word "State" replaces "Territory." The Territorial flag becomes the state flag.

The effective date of the constitution is set as "immediately upon the admission of Alaska into the Union as a state" (Art. XV, Sec. 25).

This is the constitution of Alaska, one of a very few new state constitutions in the period since 1912, and, of course, the first one for a wholly new state. Actually only Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri, and New Jersey adopted entirely new constitutions during that time, but Massachusetts, New York, Vermont, and Virginia made changes so extensive as to amount, virtually, to new constitutions. Of the new constitutions, that of Alaska is the shortest, being about 12,000 words, although New Jersey's is only slightly longer; at the other extreme of these recent constitutions stands that of Louisiana, with approximately 201,400 words. This means that Alaska has been least offensive in placing in its constitution matters better left to the discretion of the State legislature.

In general organization, the Alaskan constitution follows the pattern of the other states' constitutions. The detailed provisions differ somewhat from those of other states, but, for the most part, offer no real departure from modern trends as noted in other recent constitutions. The provision for a Legislative Council, to meet between sessions of the legislature, is in line with the trend toward greater emphasis on interim research. Too, the tendency to reduce the number of elective officials and thus increase the governor's power of appointment and make possible a governor's cabinet is reflected in the Alaskan constitution. The modern trend toward longer terms of office is apparent in the four-year terms for the governor and the members of

the Senate. The recent reaction to universal suffrage finds expression in the Alaskan requirement for ability to speak English unless physically incapacitated. This provision does not go as far as that of those states that require full literacy tests for voting, but, like their requirement, its purpose is to secure a more intelligent electorate.

In the area of the judiciary, the Alaskan constitution also follows progressive trends. The method of choosing judges is in line with the very best current thinking on this matter. The provision for a Judicial Council follows the example set by Ohio in 1923 and followed since by three-fifths of the states. Also in line with progressive thinking is the provision unifying the administration of the judiciary under the Supreme Court of Alaska and the conferring of rule-making powers on the courts, as well as the provision for an administrative director.

The local-government sections of the constitution embody both progressive and established thinking. The former finds expression in the provision for a Department of Local Affairs in the administrative organization of the state government, a step long-advocated but one taken by very few states; the established thinking is best illustrated in the perpetuation of a "headless" type of borough government, the equivalent of county government elsewhere, for the greatest defect of county government is generally agreed to be its lack of a responsible executive. A few counties in a few states have attempted to remedy this by installing an executive officer of some sort or by adoption of the county-manager plan.

Alaska's is an excellent constitution, one that reflects modern thinking and reveals its framers' awareness of errors in the constitutions of other states. At the same time it is distinctly a constitution for Alaska, designed to meet its own particular problems.

Bibliographies in Gerontology

The Institute for Social Gerontology, University of Michigan, has published a series of syllabuses, course outlines, and annotated bibliographies for use with college courses in this general

area. The publications, edited by Irving L. Webber, of the University of Florida, can be obtained from the Institute.

Huatchipato: The Story of Iron and Steel in Chile

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WHEN UNITED STATES AND CHILEAN OFFICIALS gathered at Huatchipato, near Concepción, Chile, in mid-1950 to dedicate the newly built steel plant located there, the event marked one of the most significant milestones in recent Chilean history. Symbol of Chile's modern steel industry, this mill represented the dreams, realistic planning, hard labor, and faith in the future, of both Chileans and their foreign backers. It was designed to develop steel from the raw materials available in Chile, thus saving valuable dollars previously expended to obtain it; with domestic steel, Chile could foresee not only independence from world supplies, but also the growth of a valuable export commodity.¹

The underlying urge for this interest in steel is easily explained. Prior to the completion of the mill, Chile had been dependent upon outside sources for much of her steel and many of her steel products. At first this situation was not disquieting, since the world supply was fairly steady and Chile had the income from her mineral wealth to pay for these imports. But with the First World War this picture began to alter alarmingly. For one thing, as both world wars were to prove, the flow of these products to Chilean markets would be determined as world exigencies dictated. Too, Chile's ability to pay suffered drastically with the advent of synthetic-nitrate production, lowering the price of her natural nitrates, upon which she had been heavily dependent. Another severe blow was felt when copper prices, upon which she had also been leaning, dropped as great copper reserves were located and exploited in Africa, Canada, and the United States. These two commodities—nitrate and copper—had supplied two-thirds of her exports.² Further-

¹ Much of this article, except as noted otherwise, is based on an unpublished report issued June, 1957, by the Pacific Steel Company (*Compañía de Acero del Pacífico*), entitled "Historia y Desarrollo de la Compañía de Acero del Pacífico, S. A.", referred to hereinafter as Report, and on conversations held with administrative advisors and personnel attached to the company in Santiago, Chile.

² *Economic Survey of Latin America, 1953* (New York, United Nations Department of Economic Affairs, 1954), p. 26.

more, the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 diminished Chilean commerce with ships previously calling at Valparaiso on their way around the Horn, another blow to the economic boat. At the same time these matters were influencing Chile's ability to pay, her demand for steel products became more acute with the growth of technology. Rising nationalism also played its part, for Chileans began thinking in terms of national self-sufficiency, with steel as the keystone.

Because of these basic conditions, the Chilean Congress created in 1939 a body called the Production Development Corporation (*Corporación de Fomento de la Producción*, known more familiarly as CORFO), charged with redesigning the national economy with an eye toward self-sufficiency. This agency, after a prolonged study, prepared a broad program,⁸ a part of which concerned the steel situation. A survey of the industry revealed that just prior to the Second World War, the average yearly consumption of steel in Chile approximated 141,000 tons. Of this amount, only 17,000 tons were domestically produced—this from a small steel mill opened in 1933 at Corral, and from foundries in Santiago and Talca. CORFO directed engineers in Chile to explore the possibilities of a first-class steel industry and, carrying the matter further, directed its branch office in New York to consult with American experts in estimating the probability and feasibility of that idea. The New York reports, agreeing substantially with the findings of the Chilean engineers, were affirmative, and a commission, composed of leaders in government and industry most closely affected by steel production, was appointed in mid-1942 to work out details leading to the formation of such an enterprise. Upon submitting its recommendations, the commission was superseded in December, 1942, by a Steel Committee, charged with organizing the Pacific Steel Company (*Compañía de Acero del Pacífico*, known as CAP). A law passed by Congress on October 2, 1944, provided for the financing of so large a project and gave the company the necessary latitude to expand. Thereupon the company was chartered, with a capitalization of \$15,000,000 in \$10 shares, on April 27, 1946. This incorporation was made possible by an agreement between CORFO and the United States Export-Import Bank, pointing toward financial assistance.

Meanwhile, CORFO had created a Steel Department in its New York office, staffed by Chilean and American specialists, and empowered it to begin planning the project. Foremost of the initial problems was the question of the plant's location. Studies showed plainly the advantage of a site at Huatchipato on San Vincente Bay near Concepción, the old military stronghold of colonial Chile, located along the coast some three hundred miles

⁸ P. T. Ellsworth, *Chile, an Economy in Transition* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1945), pp. 85 ff.

south of Santiago. The nearby Bío Bío River promised an adequate water supply, and the Abanico hydro-electric system, servicing this area, could develop sufficient power. Transportation was available, since Huatchipato is situated near the deep-sea port of Talcahuano. A good grade of coal lay in the immediate area, particularly at Coronel and Lota. Its distance from Santiago tended to decentralize the industrial activity of the country. Finally, the Concepción area had a population large enough to supply the necessary labor force to build and operate the plant.

Other necessities for steel production were not so readily accessible, however. The supply of iron ore was made available through a contract signed between CAP and Bethlehem Chile Iron Mines, a subsidiary of Bethlehem Steel Corporation, whereby the mining company would supply CAP with ore from their holdings at El Romeral at cost for twenty years. This reserve, located near La Serena, some six hundred miles north of Concepción on the coast, was estimated to contain some 20,000,000 tons of 60 per cent ore. The contract called also for the construction of railroad and dock-loading facilities to be built by both companies, Bethlehem supplying \$6,500,000 and CAP, \$2,750,000.⁴ At first, however, ore was supplied from a deposit known as El Tofo, also belonging to Bethlehem Steel; exploitation of El Romeral did not begin until September, 1956.⁵ Meanwhile, exploration has continued, and by mid-1957 some 118 areas having iron-bearing ore had been discovered. One of these, estimated to contain 100,000,000 tons of ore, is located in the Nahuelbuta Range on the Bay of Arauco, close to Huatchipato.⁶ Limestone was available on Guairelo Island in the dreary Madre de Dios Archipelago, nine hundred miles south near the Strait of Magellan. Dolomite and high-grade coke had to be imported.

The next decision concerned the proper type of plant. Since the type depended in part upon the quality of coal available, samples of ore were sent to the United States for testing by the Bureau of Weights and Measures and by Koppers Company, a Pittsburgh steel corporation. The coal proved to be of quality sufficient to justify the installation of a blast furnace rather than an electric one. Since Concepción lies within the earthquake zone,⁷ CAP engaged the services of the H. A. Brassert Company, of New York, to build the furnace, for this company had developed an earthquake-proof model.

Once these preliminaries were settled, the Export-Import Bank was ap-

⁴ *New York Times*, October 26, 1949; March 26, 1949.

⁵ Report, p. 17.

⁶ *New York Times*, June 16, 1957.

⁷ *Ibid.*, October 3, 1948. Concepción and the surrounding area have been rocked by tremendous earthquakes several times in history, the latest occurring in 1939, when this city and other towns, including Chillán, were virtually destroyed.

proached with regard to financing the project. After careful consideration, the bank, in a document executed with CORFO on November 27, 1945, authorized a credit of \$28,000,000 to be advanced to CAP to enable it to enter the first phase of development, the loan to be amortized in twenty years at 4 per cent interest. The total was not to be made available, however, until 1948, when the evidence was to be presented indicating the probable success of the undertaking. Meanwhile, short-term loans were negotiated with various banks, notably with the National City Bank of New York, through its branch office in Santiago, secured by the assurance of the Export-Import Bank loan. Among the conditions that had to be met to qualify for the loan was one requiring that an experienced United States steel firm be retained to aid in the over-all project. To satisfy this proviso, CORFO in December, 1947, signed a contract with Koppers Company of Pittsburgh, to supervise and administer the construction and operation of the plant for an indefinite period not to exceed twenty years.⁸

Building operations on the first three-year plan began in mid-1947. To offset the rise in prices of materials and supplies purchased in the United States, the Export-Import Bank granted an additional \$20,000,000 in credits in February, 1949, while CAP arranged for a \$50,000,000 peso loan from the Chilean government through CORFO. Parts of the plant were completed during 1949, production beginning in November, high-lighted by the export of galvanized plate to Ecuador;⁹ but the real beginning came with the completion of the blast furnace and the lighting of the fires on June 1, 1950. The event was celebrated with an inauguration ceremony held in November. Chile's President Gabriel González Videla and a delegation of high governmental officials attended, as did members of the diplomatic corps and the Archbishop of Concepción. The United States was represented by Ambassador Claude G. Bowers, Department of State officials, and the president of the Export-Import Bank.¹⁰

The first expansion in the development of Huachipato began almost immediately, consisting of the enlargement of milling facilities for the conversion of pig iron to steel. Again funds were needed, and the procedure previously followed was repeated. CAP, through CORFO, received in November, 1951, \$10,000,000 in credits to be used for purchasing the materials, machinery and equipment, and technical services necessary. After the successful conclusion of this step in 1955, a second expansion, in two phases, was contemplated for early 1956, one phase involving the installation of a reversing hot-strip mill to replace the out-dated hand-sheet mills,

⁸ *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Vol. 82 (1948), p. 228.

⁹ *New York Times*, November 25, 1949; June 25, 1950.

¹⁰ Report, p. 12.

and the second foreseeing a general improvement of fabricated products through the installation of new machinery. Another loan of \$16,000,000 was necessary. Upon the completion of this step, the original vision of the integrated steel mill in Chile will have been realized, and plans for other expansion, already projected, will be put in motion. When the current phase is completed, it is expected that the plant will produce annually 630,000 tons of ingots and 475 tons of finished products; the new plans will make possible an output of 1,250,000 tons by 1962.¹¹ A total of \$183,212,034.73 had been raised by mid-1957, of which \$70,750,000 came as credits from the Eximbank, \$91,236,819.84 from Chilean investors, and the balance from private foreign investors.¹²

The success of the nascent industry is illustrated by Table 1, prepared by CAP in the spring of 1957.¹³ Other figures quoted by the company enlarge

TABLE 1

Steel Industry Production, 1951-56
(in Thousands of Tons)

	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	Increased Production	Percentage Increase
Pig Iron	220	248	261	277	227	325	105	48
Steel	178	246	313	321	290	381	203	114
Bars	75	103	102	125	118	137	62	83
Thick plate	19	29	37	35	32	50	31	164
Thin plate	20	34	46	42	50	61	41	205
Laminated sheets	12	16	15	18	18	20	8	67

the picture. The output for 1956 was calculated at \$55,000,000; of that amount, \$44,000,000 was consumed domestically and the balance exported to Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Japan, Panama, Peru, United States, and Uruguay.¹⁴ The effect on domestic-steel prices is impressive, also; although the tariffs against imported iron and steel have remained the same, the prices of steel in the last half of 1956 were on the average 18.5 per cent lower for domestic steel than for imports.¹⁵ Another evidence of growth is the employment figures. As of December 31, 1956, the total number of employees stood at 5,986 white-collar workers and laborers, and 25 foreigners (United States citizens), including

¹¹ *New York Times*, January 8, 1958.

¹² Report, p. 31.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19. Export of steel to the United States began with the shipment of 12,000 tons to San Francisco in October, 1951.—*New York Times*, September 29, 1951.

¹⁵ Report, p. 20.

workers at the main plant, the Santiago office of CAP, the installation at Corral, the Guairelo Island activity, and in exploration operations.

Increasing the capitalization of the company also indicated the growth of the enterprise. At a meeting of stockholders in November, 1955, an additional \$15,000,000 in stock was voted, and at the same time it was decided that the governmental agency, CORFO, have less control. To that end the new stock issues were offered for sale first to the employees of the company, then to the general public. As of July 24, 1957, the financial structure was the following: the \$30,000,000 capitalization, divided into as many shares, had been subscribed to the amount of \$26,102,820, of which 10,602,196 shares were owned by public Chilean agencies and 15,500,624 were sold to private investors.¹⁶ The company is owned in the majority by private individuals and organizations.

The effect of this new steel industry on modern Chile is obvious. Though heavy industry, to the extent of making cars, for instance, does not yet seem to be planned because of the relatively small demand, still the steel of Huatchipato is responsible for the burgeoning of most other steel-based industries, more than two hundred of which were in operation in 1956.¹⁷ For the first time, Chilean manufacturers can be assured of an adequate supply of steel in peace and in war, and can begin to operate as the suppliers of steel-made products for the Pacific coast of South America and Argentina.

Quite as interesting as the economic importance is the social impact, though more difficult to document. In a sense, it is social drama to hear the tales that are related to the building of Huatchipato and how the Chileans responded to it. American steel men, accustomed to the inflexibility of schedules imposed by machines in industrial life, were sent to Chile to build the plant and train Chileans to operate it. The rigid requirements of steel working did not harmonize with the easier, pastoral life of the Chileans; frequently, to achieve the twenty-four-hour day, seven-day-week operation required in the fabrication of steel, the *Norteamericano* would be called upon to work up to thirty-six hours waiting for his Chilean relief. But the social revolution did occur, and by January 1, 1957, the operation of the plant became a Chilean venture, with only twenty-two American technicians on hand, and they for advisory duties only.

¹⁶ Certified statement of submanager of the Secretariat of CAP, July 24, 1957.

¹⁷ *Herald Tribune* (New York), July 21, 1957.

Book Reviews

Edited by

H. MALCOLM MACDONALD

HANS J. MORGENTHAU: *Dilemmas of Politics*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958. 390 pages. \$7.50.

The genius of Hans J. Morgenthau is illustrated strikingly in its two chief aspects in this volume of previously published essays, reviews, and shorter writings.

First, the collection, taken as a whole, demonstrates the great skill and persistence with which he has applied a stable body of political doctrine to an unusually wide range of political, legal, and administrative topics. The ideas are sufficiently well known; they are identified commonly as "political realism." The method of application or approach bears the name of political wisdom. One may fail to accept both the concepts and the method, but it is difficult to withhold admiration for the general excellence of the performance in this book and in other writings.

The second attribute that stands out in certain of the essays is Morgenthau's unusual sensitivity in detecting the fundamental meanings in contemporary international events and trends. On first sight, his analysis of what is happening to the international political system seems to nail him to the cross of his own system of thought. This constitutes an interesting problem in the theory of international relations. The

remaining lines of this review will be devoted to a very brief outline of the situation.

Morgenthau sees nationalism as a destructive and reactionary force in the present era and predicts that the new nationalist movements will, in due course, be obliterated in a resurgence of violent imperialism. He finds that the advent of the nuclear-missile stage of military technology finally forbids the resort to war—even limited war—as a rational means in international politics. The demise of the territorial state as a viable unit is foreseen clearly since the state can no longer perform its prime mission of providing security from external threat. With the inevitable acquisition of nuclear armaments by a dozen or so states, the very foundations of the traditional state system will be undermined. Already, Morgenthau points out, power has changed its historic form and has become principally a psychological phenomenon.

In brief, an intelligent accounting of the probable implications for international politics of the drastic innovations in the postwar world has been rendered here. What do these harsh prospects do to Morgenthau's system of ideas? Have not the teachings of political realism in defense of national interests become certain prescriptions for mass and mutual suicide? What

gleanings of useful wisdom may be derived from the history of an international order now rapidly passing out of existence?

It would be a superficial judgment to assert that the political realists have finally been confounded. They will modify the applications of their thought and join in the struggle with what must now be regarded as the central problem in the study of international relations—the transformation of the international system. The problem also spurs on those students who see better possibilities in the continued pursuit of a positive science of international relations and in a planned and engineered reform of international politics.

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JOSEPH S. ROUCEK (ed.): *Juvenile Delinquency*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 370 pages. \$10.00.

This systematic evaluation of experience in the area of juvenile delinquency consists of a survey by fourteen well-known specialists in the field. The approach is primarily sociological, with some emphasis upon the legal, psychiatric, and social-work approaches to the problem.

The subject matter is arranged in four parts: The Framework, The Search for Causes, Evaluations of Attempted Solutions, and International Trends. Chapter titles include "Dimensions of the Problem," "Legal Aspects," "Biological Base for Delinquency," "A Critique of the Psychiatric Approach," "Sociological Processes," "Cultural and Community Factors," "The School as a

Factor," "Rural Delinquency," "Economic Factors in Delinquency," "Mass Media and Delinquency," "Delinquency and Justice," "Experiments in Delinquency Prevention and Correction," "International Trends in Juvenile Delinquency," and "Youth Crime as a Problem Around the World."

This social-work reviewer found the restatement of theories of the cause of delinquency and attempts at prevention and correction, as well as the problem of defining and measuring the extent of delinquency and its reported increase, of interest. In addition to these usual approaches to the subject, the book offers a new value in the section which emphasizes the now unmistakable international trends in delinquency. This inclusion sets the volume apart from the increasing number of textbooks dealing solely with the American aspects of the problem.

As the editor indicates in the Preface, each chapter stresses the fact that juvenile delinquency touches upon so many aspects of society that an adequate prevention-program involves a vast number of interrelated activities.

The findings re-emphasize the knowledge that "delinquency" is a term ambiguously and inconsistently used, that delinquency statistics for different areas, or reported by different agencies from the same area, generally are not highly comparable, and that efforts to classify delinquents into distinct types have not resulted in any widely accepted uniform categories. Generalizations related to the biological basis of delinquency are restated.

The critique of the psychiatric approach appeared more biased than other treatments—from the social work point

of view—with its challenge of the adequacy of the psychiatrist in relation to scientific knowledge of human behavior, as well as lack of knowledge of scientific methodology.

As a teacher of social-work courses, this reader found the chapters on cultural and community factors and experiments in prevention and correction particularly useful.

This compilation is recommended as a resource book for instructors in social-work courses on the undergraduate and graduate level, for selective use by community groups, and social workers in practice. It is to be hoped that it will stimulate social workers and psychiatrists to carry on more research from the use of raw data available, and in turn result in more publications.

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EDWARD J. ROZEK: *Allied Wartime Diplomacy: A Pattern in Poland*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. 481 pages. \$6.95.

Under this somewhat anodyne title the author discusses the events that led to Poland's fifth partition. He had access to unpublished documents of the Polish government in London and the files of former Prime Minister Mikolajczyk, and in his use of these materials, he shows commendable objectivity and scholarly restraint. His study substantially contributes to our understanding of the strategy of Soviet foreign policy.

The success of this policy regarding Poland was facilitated by British and American support. In the Foreword, William Y. Elliot comments that Brit-

ain may have imposed the decision but the onus of failure falls on the stronger partner. In the light of subsequent events Anglo-American appeasement appears as a succession of blunders. What were the reasons behind them?

The formula of "unconditional surrender" restricted the freedom of action by the United States and Britain. Western strategic concepts and Lend-Lease permitted the Soviets to forestall the West and to entrench in central-eastern Europe. Furthermore, the Western leaders apparently did not apprehend that Russia was being compelled to fight for survival while actively pursuing her well-defined objectives. Hence their efforts to keep the Russians on their side by concessions at the expense of third countries. Lastly, the naïve belief that, in preference to normal diplomatic procedure, all problems could be settled with Stalin through personal contact, by charm and persuasion, proved a poor basis for Allied diplomacy. Whereas Stalin was bound by the long-range goals of communism, Roosevelt and Churchill were given a free hand in the conduct of policy. The American and British publics, apprehensive at first, were persuaded into an attitude of friendship and admiration for the Soviets—a state of mind then invoked as justification for appeasement.

Perhaps, in the given strategic situation, Poland's territorial integrity and political independence could not have been preserved. In any case, Western acquiescence provided Stalin with a cloak of legitimacy. By almost physical terror exerted on Mikolajczyk, Churchill endeavored to secure the consent of the victim. And by the unprecedented device of entrusting a committee of

three (Harriman, Clark Kerr, and Molotov) with the task of forming a Polish government of "national unity," the Western democracies thought to fulfill their pledge for Poland's independence. If Poland's cause was lost already, then the surrender of Eastern Europe on a platter was a futile expedient that undermined the moral credit of the democracies and mortgaged their future policy. Since the arrangements concerning Germany, especially Berlin, were part and parcel of the deal, there is no way of disentanglement from embarrassing commitments.

Having agreed to Poland's truncation in the east, the United States and Britain are reluctant to underwrite her compensation in the west, though its principle was dangled before the Poles by Churchill and agreed upon at Yalta. Thus the Poles are made to rely on Soviet support. How could they admit the concept of a nation on wheels, pushed westward once, exposed to a possible opposite move should the power constellation change?

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SOLOMON B. LEVINE: *Industrial Relations in Postwar Japan*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1958. 200 pages. \$4.25.

Japanese workers' relations with each other, with their work, and with their employers are determined today more by tradition and government than by collective bargaining, despite the postwar unionization of a very large proportion of all wage earners. Before 1945, Japanese unions had never claimed as many as half a million mem-

bers, yet since 1948, union membership has fluctuated between 5.7 and 6.7 million. In 1957, the number of unions reached an all-time high of 36,084, and the average membership per union was less than 200. The large number of very small unions—and a great deal else about Japanese unions—is accounted for by the fact that most of them are "enterprise unions." This term, peculiarly Japanese, applies to an organization comprised of only the employees of a single firm, or enterprise.

These and other phenomena, along with the background necessary for their understanding, are discussed in Levine's valuable book. This important subject matter has not heretofore received such comprehensive treatment in English. This volume is a successful first approximation toward an explanation of the situation and the forces at work. It is to be hoped that the author, one of an all-too-small band of American economists with a command of the Japanese language, will continue his original work in this field.

Japanese traditions provide answers for many of the human problems created by industrialization. Levine wisely starts his book with a statement on the economic and social setting. A large element, in both tradition and present practice, is paternalism, which Levine finds sometimes patriarchal, sometimes despotic, the first of these qualities common in small shops, the latter mainly in larger enterprises. Unions have taken hold mainly in larger companies, often with the principal result of influencing paternalism away from despotism and toward patriarchy.

The sudden rise of unionism in Japan is mainly the result of Occupation policy. The form and activities of Japa-

nese unions, however, are products of complex social, economic, political, and international forces. As in other countries, Communists have vigorously sought influence or control in Japanese unions. Levine's treatment of this aspect provides evidence of much Socialist sentiment and significant Communist influence, but at one point he says the Socialists have encountered "disfavor" and that "communism has made even fewer inroads." This statement is difficult to accept. Left-wing influences are very apparent in union political activities, especially in national affairs. Local activities, on the other hand, tend to concentrate on making secure the permanent attachment to the firm of its regular (as contrasted to its temporary) working force.

This concern for permanence is at the heart of Levine's explanation of the predominance of the enterprise basis over the craft or industrial basis of organization. Japanese loyalty to the employer and firm is made very clear. But the persistent question of why the enterprise union has such appeal is only partially answered. We are shown that Japanese workers think of themselves as more closely identified with the firm than with an occupation, industry, or class. That the many temporary workers have not vigorously supported some alternative more favorable to them is clear, even though the reasons remain somewhat mysterious.

Collective bargaining has dealt mainly with wage benefits and job tenure. Many of the other subjects of bargaining in other countries are covered in national legislation. Besides union encouragement, given in the Trade Union Law of 1945, a wide range of government direction of the conditions of

work was embodied in the Labor Relations Adjustment Law of 1946 and the Labor Standards Law of 1947. The larger firms, to which these laws apply, are now commonly providing their workers far superior conditions and earnings as compared with previous standards, and also as compared with what is within the capability of the small-scale firms. Neither government enforcement nor union strength is adequate for making favorable conditions universal. As Levine points out, in an economy as dependent as Japan is on limited trade and unstable world markets, there is a limit to what can be done within the area of industrial relations.

Warren S. Hunsberger
Council on Foreign Relations
and University of Rochester

MELVIN C. WREN: *The Course of Russian History*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1958. 725 pages. \$6.95.

JOHN LONG: *Modern Russia: An Introduction*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 180 pages. \$6.00.

The production of textbooks on Russian history is gradually approaching the demand for well-balanced and readable studies that might be used for instruction and ready reference. Some of the recent efforts to fulfill the need are of uneven value because they either are the result of scant thought or over-emphasize the period after 1917. Wren's book does not deserve demerits on either count.

With a profound appreciation of the fact that "no serious student . . . understands the Soviet Union unless he knows the Russia of the nineteenth and

twentieth centuries . . . [and] the imprint of her past" on these centuries, Wren has devoted twenty-six (of a total of thirty-two) chapters to a very lucid introduction and a closely reasoned account of the forces and events that shaped the development of the Russian nation up to the October Revolution. Nowhere has he permitted facts to enslave him. Domestic policies are carefully recounted and evaluated, and the role and impact of foreign relations are placed in their proper perspective. Indeed, the author often shines best in chapters dealing with foreign affairs (e.g., "Nicholas I, Europe and the Near East"). Yet, it is a pity that he has (as he admits) chosen to say so little of literature and art. While it is impossible to dispute his verdict that "there is no surer way of catching the feel of the Russian land and people . . ." than to read the works of their great poets and novelists, a fuller discussion of the meaning and influence of these literary giants on Russian thought would do much to inspire such reading. But it is pedantic to quibble over this point. The attractive style, excellent maps and illustrations, judicious bibliographies, and fine index make Wren's creation one of the most readable and valuable histories of Russia published in English during the past decade.

Long's little book is something far less in scope but, by its very nature, more ambitious in objective. It is addressed "primarily to the serious, non-specialist reader who requires a brief, factual commentary on post-Stalinist Russia" and, in spite of the publisher's blurb, "claims to be no more than a factual introduction to its immense

subject . . ." Unfortunately, while the work is indeed "a brief, factual commentary" it falls short of being a completely satisfactory "introduction." In his attempt to cram so many facts into so few pages, the author has sacrificed the style and clarity so necessary for the success of a work of this type. As a result, involved sentences and awkward forms of expression tend to detract from a well-conceived plan of organization and mar some shrewd observations. One must also regret that the publisher's price will perhaps prevent the book and its wealth of information from reaching the audience for whom it was intended.

Joseph O. Baylen
London, England

NEIL W. CHAMBERLAIN: *Labor*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1958. 625 pages. \$7.00.

This book recommends itself to the teacher and student of labor. The orientation is slightly descriptive or "institutional" rather than strictly analytical, though both approaches are employed. The contents are fairly standard for a basic labor text, but Chamberlain's ability to sift and organize existing materials in a complete and logical fashion makes the book useful for nonacademic readers also. The author's newspaper experience is evident in his clarity and thought-provoking manner of presentation.

In the first three chapters, fairly brief, the author sets the stage for the rest of the book with a discussion of the meaning and measures of "labor"; by a general tracing of the development of American unionism; and an account of the more recent growth of the AF of

L, and CIO, and their subsequent merger. Thereafter, only occasional references are made to events prior to the 1930's. The remainder of the first half of the book is a substantially institutional discussion of the nature of unions and management; bargaining units and the role of the NLRB; political and economic sources of bargaining power; nonwage considerations in bargaining; security, managerial functions, grievances, seniority, and productivity; and finally the influence of strikes. Chapters dealing with each of these subjects develop the origins, differing viewpoints, and common resolutions of these issues. Of the third quarter of the book, dealing with wages, two chapters are devoted to wages in an unorganized economy, with an exceptionally lucid presentation of classical and neoclassical wage theory. The subsequent chapter, on wages in an organized economy, considers both "the economic and political" theories as well as Reynold's work on local wage escalators and their relation to managerial efficiency and firm profitability. The monopoly power of unions and the impact of unions on wage rates and wage differentials are well covered in the following chapters. A brief but adequate chapter deals with the economic effects of minimum-wage legislation. The closing hundred pages treat the broad questions of inflation and full employment; union impact on wage-price relations, hours, and distribution of income; and finally the private and legislative efforts to meet the problems of retirement and unemployment. The last chapter presents briefly the trends of union-management relations and their influence on the economy.

Several features of the book are

especially noteworthy. The conclusions at the end of chapters really serve to draw together the necessarily diverse viewpoints that have been presented, and the stimulating discussion questions in each chapter will provoke the reader to self-examination. The extensive use of published and unpublished research findings, with good footnoting, shows careful selection, and offers the reader a variety of approaches. In addition to the excellent wage-theory presentation, the chapter on union structure is exceptionally well done. The voluminous and often confusing decisions of the National Labor Relations Board are also clearly presented in a meaningful pattern.

One may wish that more labor history or some discussion of the theories of the labor movement and labor leaders had been included, but no book can be all-inclusive. In future editions it may be possible to rework and possibly drop some of the tables and statistics. Also, there may be a need to clarify the distinction between movements along the marginal value product function and shifts in the function. Most readers could benefit from more extensive indexing or elaboration of the table of contents to facilitate finding specific points. Nonetheless, the book is a well-written, well-balanced picture of organized and unorganized labor.

Warren E. Adams
The University of Texas

WILLIAM A. LESSA and EVON Z. VOGT
(eds.): *Reader in Comparative Religion*. Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson & Company, 1958. 598 pages. \$7.25.

This volume is, as the title indicates, a reader in comparative religion, not in

comparative religions. The editors have organized their materials around certain aspects of religion rather than around religious systems as wholes. There is a brief final chapter entitled "Portraits of Religious Systems," but there is no attempt to present even in outline form the major features of any of the world's best-known religions (such as Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism, or Mohammedanism) in a comprehensive manner.

Other chapter titles are "Origin and Development of Religion," "The Function of Religion in Human Society," "Myth and Ritual," "Mana and Taboo," "Totemism, Magic, Witchcraft and Divination," "The Magical Treatment of Illness," "Death, Ghosts and Ancestor Worship," "Shamans and Priests," and "Dynamics of Religion." The volume contains biographies of the authors from whose works materials are drawn, a section made up of very brief summaries of selected monographs on non-Western religious systems, a general bibliography, and an index of authors and titles.

Among the contributors are many leading anthropologists of the present day—both American and non-American—as well as numerous scholars of earlier days. In addition, the works of many other writers are drawn upon—administrators, clergymen, literary critics, psychiatrists, psychologists, and sociologists.

Representative religious beliefs and practices are selected from a great variety of cultures, ranging from Australian aborigines to present-day "civilizations" and from early Hebrew life to modern times. For the most part the selections are descriptive, with a mini-

mum of analysis and interpretation. As is perhaps to be expected, the general impression is ideographic rather than nomothetic.

The editors have done an excellent job of tying the various parts of the volume together by means of an introduction to each chapter and to the specific sections of each chapter. The book is a "reader" in the true sense of that term and, as such, should serve as valuable supplementary material.

This reviewer was quite surprised, however, to find the selections "Totemism in the A.E.F." and "Water Witching: an Interpretation of a Ritual Pattern in Rural America" included in a "reader" in comparative religion. Based on the editors' definition of religion, these contributions do not seem to belong.

Perry P. Denune
University of Arkansas

PEARSON HUNT, CHARLES M. WILLIAMS, and GORDON DONALDSON: *Basic Business Finance*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1958. 911 pages. \$7.00.

The authors have compiled a very useful book in the general area of business financial management. Some question might be raised about characterizing it as "basic" business finance. The reviewer has the feeling that the book would be more adaptable as a text for a graduate survey-course or for an adult class in an evening program; the student would seem to need to have already a certain amount of maturity as well as a basic understanding of accounting if he is to use the book effectively.

The finance function is defined as that of providing and effectively utilizing the funds needed by a business enterprise in view of the objectives sought to be achieved. By so defining this function, the authors have integrated the management area directly into their consideration of the financial aspects of the business. This is a broader concept than most introductory corporation finance textbooks seek to cover. With this as the basic approach, the book is very capably written from the viewpoint of the chief finance-officer. Emphasis is placed upon financial decision-making. A wide variety of case problems is included to implement the decision-making process. Some of the cases could have been made more effective if more direction were given to students' efforts as they work with them.

The text narrative is divided into four main areas. The first covers a logical development of procedures, from forecasting the needs for funds through their acquisition and use. The second part surveys the marketing problems related to corporate securities. The third area deals with the role of government in the regulatory aspects of long-term credit. The last part discusses certain special areas, such as refunding, recapitalization, mergers, and liquidation.

In general the book is excellently written. The authors have used the terminology of accounting more nearly in conformity with that generally accepted in the profession than is the case in some other corporation-finance texts. The volume is most certainly a worthwhile contribution toward the new tendency of integrating managerial

decision-making into each functional area of business education.

Emerson Henke
Baylor University

ÉMILE DURKHEIM: *Socialism and Saint-Simon* (ed. with an Introduction by Alvin W. Gouldner; trans. Charlotte Sattler). Yellow Springs, Ohio, The Antioch Press; 1958. 240 pages. \$5.00.

GUSTAV A. WETTER, S.J.: *Dialectical Materialism* (trans. Peter Heath). New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1959. 609 pages. \$10.00.

This publication of the first English translation of Émile Durkheim's *Le Socialisme* raises the question of why it should have been undertaken. After all, it is one of the least well-known of the author's works, representing lectures he delivered at Bordeaux in 1895-96, never completed in final form, and not published in French until 1928. In content it deals briefly with the background of socialism in the eighteenth century and then proceeds to a detailed analysis of the writings of Saint-Simon. On reading it, however, its virtues become apparent. First, it is of interest to learn how one of the truly distinguished nineteenth-century intellects viewed the problem of socialism in his time and thus to gain a perspective on the meaning of the term prior to the popularization of Leninism. Next, Durkheim's distinction between socialism and communism is unique. He views socialism as an eighteenth-century theory in which industrial activity is "linked" to the state and the scientific regulation of economic affairs, conceived of as the

main task of social organization. On the other hand, communism is represented by him as an ancient doctrine, tracing its origins back to Plato, which "puts industrial life outside of the state," is concerned more with moral and utopian constructs, and is basically a "retrogressive" social theory in that it would return man to a primitive social condition. Lastly, in the major portion of the work, we have his careful analysis of the doctrines of Saint-Simon, well worth reading, and significant in that it affords an evaluation of Saint-Simon's position some seventy years after his death. Mention should also be made of Gouldner's Introduction, in which he advances the thesis that Durkheim owes as much to Saint-Simon as to Comte, an idea that has been overlooked by most students of Durkheim's intellectual development.

In short, we end with a book of considerable interest to students of socialism and of sociology. The editor and translator merit our appreciation for making it available in English, but their failure to provide an index should be remedied in future editions.

Wetter's *Dialectical Materialism* has been known to scholars since its publication under the title *Der Dialektische Materialismus* in Vienna in 1952. The gist of the work was originally presented in lectures given at Papal Oriental Institute in Rome and the published version bears the imprimatur of the Roman Catholic Church. The present translation (based on the fourth German edition) takes into account the impact of the Twentieth Party Congress on the intellectual life of the USSR. The author distinguishes be-

tween "dialectical" and "historical" materialism and confines his attention to the latter, including within it the Soviet philosophy of science but excluding ethics, esthetics, history, and law—the preserve of "historical materialism." Roughly the first half of the book deals with historic background, commencing with Marx's debt to Hegel, the development of Marxism in Russia prior to the Revolution (orthodox and Menshevik approaches), the subsequent evolution of Soviet thought up to 1931, and two concluding chapters on Stalin and the changes since his death. The second half of the book is a detailed and technical analysis of the system of Soviet philosophy of dialectical materialism, both on its theoretical side and in its application in science. The author is careful to distinguish "Soviet materialism" from "mechanistic materialism," with the result that the Soviet system emerges as a respectable philosophy in its own right, worthy of serious consideration by the professional philosopher. While the author is inclined to criticize the Soviet position from the Aristotelian-Thomistic point of view, he does so at the level of philosophical criticism and never solely on the basis of Catholic apologetics.

Beyond doubt this work constitutes a significant contribution on a high plane to the contemporary dialogue between communism and the West. The author is to be commended for both a remarkable objectivity and fairness in treatment and the high standard of scholarship and research demonstrated throughout his treatise. The book is well documented, and through this translation many of the sources will be-

come available to English-language students for the first time. Of interest is Wetter's conclusion that Soviet philosophy owes a greater debt to earlier Russian philosophical thought than has been generally recognized. His comparison between scholastic, neo-Platonic thought and some of the underlying assumptions of the Soviet philosophers is intriguing, as is also his contrast of modern Roman Catholic philosophy and the philosophy of Soviet dialectic materialism. His conclusion that in spite of "points of contact" communism "appears in its inmost nature as the true antagonist of Christianity" is profoundly true and bears remembrance in this era of the Cold War. An able, scholarly, and comprehensive book, well worth the attention of contemporary intellectuals.

H. Malcolm Macdonald
The University of Texas

A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN: *Method in Social Anthropology*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958. 189 pages. \$3.75.

Several themes recur again and again in this compilation of essays by the pioneer British social anthropologist:

1. A society should be seen as an integrated system, in which each part (e.g., institution, group) is related to other parts in maintaining the system. Thus such disparate parts as religion, myth, totemism, and many kinds of ceremonies "function" (here is a key word) as cohesive devices to unite the members of society into a stable structure.

2. Society should be investigated as a whole, by trained observers on the scene. Data should be collected in vari-

ous ways, and the interpretation of the data for scientific generalization is best done by the observer, for he is best prepared to relate the data to the more subtle nuances he has "felt" but been unable to put on paper. The observer must learn to get the "meaning" of a pattern as held in the minds of those being observed, not only because this is good field work but because, for comparative purposes, the same item may serve different functions in different societies. The observer should also be a theorist, formulating hypotheses and testing them in comparative situations, to the end that he may build conceptual schemes about general human phenomena. Social anthropology, in other words, should be a natural science.

3. There is an intimate association between research and theory, an interdependence that is blurred by frequent charges flying between proponents of one or the other.

4. Social phenomena need sociological explanation, rather than explanations from such fields as biology (instinct, etc.), theology, economics, or psychology. "The object of our study is the process as a whole and the individuals do not concern us except insofar as they necessarily enter into that process" (p. 17). This position, resting strongly on Durkheim, is perhaps not yet very well understood, even by some sociologists. (There is, of course, the danger of being extreme here with sociological imperialism, but the fact remains that students of society should analyze their data in specifically sociological terms, with the aid of relevant material from other fields.)

5. Anthropology should be separated into three different fields: prehistoric archeology and ethnography

(the latter being a historical discipline in search of origins which frequently, according to Radcliffe-Brown, are undiscoverable); human biology or physical anthropology; and social anthropology or comparative sociology. He strongly favors the latter as promising most for a generalizing science of social structure and process.

The essays go back to 1923. Although the author has been influenced by those before him (Frazer, Durkheim, Haddon, Rivers), his own impact on current sociology and anthropology is considerable, shown, for example, in one of the most important of contemporary sociological theorists, R. K. Merton, as well as in the Cambridge school of social anthropologists (Firth, Evans-Pritchard, *et al.*)

This is not a manual of techniques for field work but a discussion of method in the broader European sense. It is repetitious and a bit ancient now, but a milestone in functionalism.

Warren Breed
Tulane University

WILLIAM J. HAMMOND and MARGARET F. HAMMOND: *La Réunion, a French Settlement in Texas*. Dallas, Royal Publishing Company, 1958. 152 pages. \$3.00.

DAISY GLICK STEVENSON: *A Trail to Mañana*. Dallas, Royal Publishing Company, 1958. 230 pages. \$4.00.

Both of these titles are concerned with colonization enterprise in Texas. The *La Réunion* enterprise is the earlier, detailing an experiment of Victor Prosper Considerant in 1855 for the establishment of a socialistic colony in the Oak Cliff section of present Dallas. Actually Considerant's bucolic

dream was a hybrid of socialism and capitalism: he would have his project financed by capitalists for expected profits, but the enterprise was for the ultimate good of colonizing socialists, who work entirely at their own pleasure to achieve complete liberty and "individualism." Several hundred lackadaisical colonists, operating under the committee system, proved the colony a failure almost from the start. The members dispersed into the opportunities of the capitalistic world about them.

William J. and Margaret F. Hammond have told the *La Réunion* story in a logical, straightforward, and scholarly manner. Daisy Glick Stevenson's *A Trail to Mañana* is, on the other hand, a personalized, heart-warming account of the pioneer struggles, the trials and tribulations of those who in the early part of the twentieth century settled about Lyford, Brownsville, and other areas in the present Magic Valley portion of the Rio Grande Valley at the extreme southern tip of Texas. Her style is reminiscent of the Book of Chronicles. Mrs. Stevenson writes impressively and with feeling of the abundance of game and wildlife that originally filled the water-scarce brush country. Progressively she recounts the coming of the railroad and settlers with the introduction, step by step, of the institutions and agencies of the Anglo-American way of life, each of which was in its turn modified by the earlier Latin-American culture. Much of the book is biographical; it is local history at its grass roots, with no trappings of academic adulteration.

The press work and design of both books leave much to be desired.

H. Bailey Carroll
The University of Texas

CECIL E. GOODE: *Personnel Research Frontiers*. Chicago, Public Personnel Association, 1958. 176 pages. \$3.50.

The Public Personnel Association undertook to study the extent of the activity of present personnel research and to ascertain the implications of this research for improved personnel management. In this book the director of the project reports on the study and presents his conclusions concerning such activity.

Three principal methods were used to collect the information: (1) a questionnaire was mailed to a large number of governmental, academic, and private research centers; (2) the project director interviewed 218 individual researchers through the country; (3) members of the project staff attended the national conventions of the social sciences. Goode states that the results of the questionnaires were "not very fruitful" but that the interviews proved much more rewarding. The report depends primarily on data from the interviewers.

"Personnel research" was given a broad definition for the study. In addition to the traditional areas of concern to public personnel administration, the project included studies on the nature of human behavior in occupational settings, and certain of the studies are concerned with the nature of work and occupations. The result is that the survey included much more of the total social-science area than is usually associated with personnel practices.

Early in the book Goode points out what he considers an imbalance in our research interest. Although general-research activities have increased in recent years, our attention to the human

factor has not kept pace with other areas of research: "The amount of the country's research budget devoted to human relations is quite small, being in the neighborhood of one per cent of the total."

The central chapter in the book is the assessment of "current personnel research efforts." Other sections deal with the sources of financial support, facilities and methods of organizing for research, and areas neglected by current effort. A final section is devoted to conclusions and recommendations. Throughout the work specific reference is made to particular leaders in behavioral research, and to the programs of particular research organizations.

It is of considerable interest that two-thirds of the research considered by the study is supported financially by the United States government; foundations, business and industry, and state governments pay for the remainder. The actual performance of research, however, is carried out primarily by universities and private organizations.

One of Goode's conclusions is that organized-group research is proving much more effective than the "informal variety which has been typical of academic institutions in the past." Organized institutional research has advantages in planning, interdisciplinary combinations, fund-raising, and the use of full-time personnel. An important advantage of group research is the stimulating and productive interaction naturally arising among the members of a team. The academic tradition in which the individual professor is responsible for both instruction and research is "giving way" to organized-group research.

At some points the book would have

been made more usable for the reader by the addition of footnotes referring specifically to published reports of the research mentioned. Altogether, however, the volume is a well written and timely report of the activity of present personnel research. The scope of Goode's study is such that his conclusions and recommendations have significance for all the social sciences.

Edgar L. Sherbenou
University of Houston

LOUIS SCHNEIDER and SANFORD M. DORNBUSH: *Popular Religion*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1958. 174 pages. \$4.50.

The authors have undertaken the rather tedious task of examining some forty-six best-sellers in the religious field, published over the period of years 1875-1955. In a general way they may be described as books selected from the "American inspirational religious literature."

Since thirty-five of the books used were published within the thirty-year period 1923-53, one questions the usefulness of including the eleven published between 1875-1923, especially since the growth of this type of literature is related, according to the authors, to the rise and growth of the so-called "mass culture." This concept of mass culture is closely related to the development of the modern means of communication—the radio, movies, and television. Furthermore, the authors make the observation that "this literature clearly is sensitive to currents in the social world since the First World War." Although the suffragette movement, the prohibition and the anti-prohibition movements, the coming of the picture magazines, the increased literacy, the

increased leisure for the masses, and the rise and growth of book clubs all greatly influenced the sale of all books, including religious ones, there is no attempt to relate these factors to what makes a best-seller. Interestingly, one of the footnotes refers to the readers of the religious literature as "the nervous . . . middle-class housewife."

The results of the cataloging of the concepts and phrases used in this religious literature lead to the conclusion that the people who read it are interested in how to achieve "power, success, life-mastery, and peace of mind and soul and not with salvation."

The book is a useful addition to the rather meager list of studies in the sociology of religion; it is also a valuable experiment in the difficult field of methodology. Sociologists will welcome the detailed description, the problems encountered in the study, and the frank admission by the authors that even with their painstaking preparation, there are further problems to be ironed out in the studies on religion.

Sandor B. Kovacs
University of Tulsa

JOHN R. STOCKTON: *Business Statistics*. Cincinnati, South-Western Publishing Company, 1958. 615 pages. \$6.75.

This textbook is designed for a one-semester beginning course and allows the instructor some choice in the portions to be covered.

In the Preface the author mentions his limitation of the topic statistical inference. The limitation will be of interest to two groups. The group favoring a statistics course highly flavored with inference will not be inclined to make use of the book; the group favoring a

primarily descriptive statistics-course will find the text usable. The reviewer favors the latter approach.

A strong point is made in the introductory chapter: "A proper use of statistical data requires some knowledge of the methods of analysis used on the data. This is not so much a knowledge of how to make the analysis as [it is] an understanding of what the analysis means, what it does *not* mean, and how the results of the analysis can be used." Stockton seems to have accomplished such a feat.

In the chapter on averages, attention is drawn to the fact that in calculating the median from grouped data, the formula is based not on the items themselves but rather on the *spaces* between successive items. Many textbooks fail to make this point.

Unfavorable criticism may be noted in three instances. First, the material on frequency distribution could more logically be placed immediately before the chapter on averages. Second, the explanation of the empirical mode seems to lack sufficient information as to "why." (Perhaps including this material within the section on characteristics of averages would be an improvement.) Finally, no explanation is given concerning the reasons for squaring deviations from the mean in calculating the standard deviation, or for ignoring signs in calculating the average deviation from any measure of central tendency.

Stockton's book should be a very teachable text for an instructor who desires to "play down" the inference approach. The unfavorable criticism mentioned should in no way be interpreted as significant shortcomings.

James W. Parsons, Jr.
Baylor University

ROLAND YOUNG (ed): *Approaches to the Study of Politics: Twenty-two Essays Exploring the Nature of Politics and the Methods by Which It Can be Studied*. Evanston, Ill., Northwestern University Press, 1958. 382 pages. \$6.00.

During the period 1953-56 the Department of Political Science at Northwestern University engaged in protracted self-analysis, focused by what Young calls "the acquisition of knowledge in the study of politics." As a part of this self-study, four conferences were held at Evanston which treated, serially, four broad and overlapping topics: the formation of political concepts, the development of political theory, the use of analytic systems, and the study of the community. Twenty-two scholars were invited to read papers which provided referents for conference discussions. These contributors represented three of the social sciences: political science (twelve), sociology (six), and psychology (four). Their papers provide the substance of the present volume.

The structure of the books suggests something of the orientation of those who planned the conferences and something also of the limits of usefulness that the collection may have. The first section, headed "Political Concepts," treats three main matters affecting political-science curricula: behavioral analyses, on the one hand, and the roles of public law and political theory on the other. The second section is devoted to a special consideration of political theory and divides its concern among the roles usually assigned to political theory: political theory as prescription, as data, and as analytical generalization. With the exception of one

sociologist, all the contributors to these two sections were political scientists.

In contrast, the authors of the papers in Sections Three and Four are either sociologists or psychologists; no political scientist is included. Section Three, "Analytic Systems," is chiefly concerned with some specific studies in psychology which could have political applications. Section Four, called "The Community," is weighted to sociological investigations and analyses of that subject.

This outline will in part suggest what the reader will and will not find in the book. He will not find a systematic consideration of the curricular content of political science. Nor will he find a complete critique of its contemporary methods. He will not find an over-all canvass of the applicable insights to be found in related social-science disciplines. He will find some selected and unintegrated considerations under each of these headings. In short, the organizational development of the book strongly suggests that it was built on a predetermined "behavioral" answer to the question, From whence is "knowledge in the study of politics" to be acquired? It seems particularly unfortunate that invitations were not extended to other social scientists—economists, for example—since a heavy nonpolitical emphasis was possible. And equally, the designed separation of political scientists from the sociologists and psychologists may be regretted.

These limitations granted, the reader will find much of merit in the volume. The individual essays, considered as such, maintain a uniformity of excellence that is rare in such compilations.

In nearly every case the writers pose problems that are currently relevant and

basic; and they treat their problems in ways that, if not always original, are at least sufficiently out of the ordinary to command close reading. Furthermore, some of the more specialized papers (for example, on communicative behavior) are particularly suggestive for political science. The essays can be of substantial usefulness in graduate instruction.

In sum, if read for the particular contributions of the individual scholars, the book is at once interesting and valuable. But as a general critical inquiry into the present state of the study of politics it is not very impressive. The devices by which it outflanks the more traditional modes of political analysis are less than convincing.

Thomas P. Jenkin
University of California
(Los Angeles)

CARL J. FRIEDRICH (ed.): *Authority*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1958. 234 pages. \$5.00.

This slim volume of essays upon a central concept of political philosophy is the first in a projected series of annual publications of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy. It is comprised of papers read at the 1956 meeting of the society, elaborations of commentary there, and a few additional chapters to "round out" the whole. And it succeeds well in its purpose of offering interdisciplinary exploration and treatment, for the diverse perspectives of law, history, political science, sociology, psychology, and anthropology interplay in a rich and stimulating discussion, attractive to the theorist in any of these fields. Other readers may find the material abstruse,

with the excellent expositions of contrasting positions and various interests somewhat confusing. Cross-fertilization has its limitations, but clearly the repetitious and involved verbiage of one or two of the contributions cannot be attributed to them. Generally, though, the essays are concise, incisive, and illuminating in depth.

Obviously "authority" calls for a definition; and Friedrich, Catlin, and Hendel, among others, grapple impressively with the Socratic task, though Hendel makes an interesting case for now relegating the term "sovereignty" to limbo. Other conceptions range from Arendt's rigidly traditional formulation (supporting the thesis that authority has disappeared from the modern world) to the other extreme, which finds many kinds of authority operative in advanced society, the "naked" variety approaching simply any suggestion that is complied with, free of any nexus of coercion, bribe, or prestige (Jouvenel's "efficient imperative"). Then presumably authority is accepted for its consonance with natural law, or the public philosophy, or the moral and intellectual imperatives inherent in the culture and prevailing climate of opinion.

Elaboration of the individual interests of the thirteen contributors cannot be detailed here; but they include concern that a "myth" of foundation shall undergird the public authority; that the masses shall be steeped in the public philosophy; that leadership shall relate its bids to the value system of the community; that social change shall proceed fully cognizant of the conditions for legitimization of authority; that the study of primitive peoples be exploited to clarify the role of authority; that current anticolonial revolt be understood

as following an established pattern, etc. One novel effort undertakes the preliminary speculative analysis to facilitate the measurement of popular attitudes of acceptance or rejection of "the public authorities"—obviously aimed at statistical forecasting, possibly in the service of (the queasy suspicion intrudes itself) a dubious enterprise of manipulation or control.

August O. Spain
Texas Christian University

DAVID C. McCLELLAND, ALFRED L. BALDWIN, URIE BRONFENBRENNER, and FRED L. STRODTBECK: *Talent and Society*. New York, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1958. 275 pages. \$3.75.

This book is a report of a four-year exploratory study to identify talent. The nature and scope of the problem are outlined by McClelland in the first chapter. In the next, Bronfenbrenner, Harding, and Gallwey present the results of an empirical study to determine social-perception skills. Their contribution is indeed small from the standpoint of the central issue—the identification of talent; nevertheless, their work is of considerable significance insofar as the methods and hypotheses of social perception are concerned. An attempt is made to explore the subtle aspects of social perception and G. H. Mead's "generalized other" theory; however, methodological difficulties prevented them from providing many clear-cut answers.

Kallenbach and McClelland report on a study of three small communities to determine the criteria of success there. The results lend support to several current class-theories but refute

others. Their data show that the Warner Index of Status Characteristics is a good measure of social standing in stable communities, such as Yankee City, but that its validity decreases as mobility increases. Limited data from one community indicate that "achievement standing" and "social standing" must be distinguished. It will be recalled that Warner uses the term "social status" in an all-inclusive manner, not recognizing hierarchies based upon power, economic factors, prestige, etc. Although there is not enough evidence to conclusively settle the point, many sociologists, including the reviewer, feel that Warner's use of the term should be seriously challenged.

Jewish and Italian families are compared by Strodtbeck in an attempt to determine what values and patterns have been responsible for the Jews' above-average and the Italians' below-average occupational status in America. Ethnological materials were analyzed and an empirical study made of Jews and Italians in New Haven. This is clearly one of the most fruitful studies made by the group. The discovery of the family values which are identified with high performance in later life is crucial. Still more important, however, is the question, how can we effectively utilize such information? More specifically, how do we implant these values in the individual? The authors note that they are not at the cognitive levels; thus they cannot be taught in the sense that we teach mathematics, spelling, etc. Baldwin makes a fruitful theoretical analysis of the concept ability in the last chapter.

Let us hope that this work will serve to initiate further study in this highly important area. Although the conclu-

sions made in this study are tentative and much remains to be done, the authors have sharpened our focus.

Bryon E. Munson
Ohio State University

WINTON U. SOLBERG (ed.): *The Federal Convention and the Formation of the Union of American States*. New York, The Liberal Arts Press, 1958. 526 pages. \$1.75.

This is not "just another" book of readings. The editor of this nineteenth volume in the American Heritage Series has compiled most of the usual, and some of the unusual, documents pertinent to the Philadelphia Convention, its prelude and its aftermath, has attached commentary and appendices, and capped the whole with a distinguished introduction.

The documentary material opens with the proceedings of the Stamp Act Congress and closes with Virginia's instrument of ratification. The Proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention are represented by 277 carefully annotated pages of extracts from Madison's *Notes of Debates*, and a commentary on these notes, illuminating in itself. Scholarly appurtenances, including appendices containing biographical data and population estimates, increase the usefulness of the book.

Granting every bit of credit to the editor for the virtues exhibited throughout the body of his work, his own ninety-eight-page prefatory essay, "The Genesis of American Constitutionalism," appears as the brightest star in his lustrous galaxy. There he reaches back to classical antiquity and brings the reader forward into the Age of the Enlightenment, and beyond, through

the Philadelphia Convention, the struggle for ratification, and the establishment of the new federal union. The traditional sources and topics are presented in that essay, but in an unusually well-integrated and succinct fashion, and with excellent commentary in the chronicling.

Exemplifying this skill is Solberg's distinction between *gubernaculum* and *jurisdictio*; though explained in passing allusion, the explanation is still sufficient for the objectives of the essay, and the terms are appropriately applied as a unifying theme for a large portion of the Introduction. Similarly, Harrington's *Oceana* and the English Revolution of 1688 are tied to the American Revolution and Constitution with the same ease evidenced when the connections, more frequently found in other writings, between Locke, Rousseau, and our Constitution are made.

This collection could readily constitute the central reading for a distinct course on the formation of the American Federation. The introductory essay would fill a great need in basic courses if published separately.

Melvin Potter Straus
The University of Texas

JANKO OROZEN: *Zgodovina Trbovlja, Hrastnika in Dola, I—Od početka do 1918* ("The History of Trbovlje, Hrastnik and Dol, Volume I—From the Beginnings Until 1918"). Trbovlje, 1958. 736 pages. N.p.

On its route through the Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, the Orient Express follows the narrow passage which the Sava River has cut into the Alpine rock. At Trbovlje the passenger notices the installations for the sorting and loading

of coal. The Trbovlje Basin still represents a substantial source of energy for Yugoslav railroads, industry, and electrical plants, though Slovenia today accounts for only 23 per cent of the total Yugoslav coal production, as compared with 53 per cent in 1919.

Orožen, noted Yugoslav historian, has devoted more than ten years to the study of this region's history. The resulting monograph gives insight into the ramifications of the Industrial Revolution within the Austrian Empire, of which Slovenia was a part until 1918.

Archeological findings in the area go back to the Stone Age. They reveal the existence of presumably Illyric settlements (Hallstatt epoch), give definite evidence of Celtic settlements (La Tène period), and they become eloquent testimony of life in the Roman Empire. Roman authority broke in the fifth century, and around A.D. 600 the Slovenes settled in the area. Their independence ended when, in 795, their Prince Vojnomir recognized Frank suzerainty.

Using material from medieval archives, Orožen describes in great detail the property relationships and changes during the feudal era, as well as the life of peasants and artisans.

Well over half the book is devoted to the capitalistic era, which had its beginnings in the latter half of the eighteenth century. At that time the Austrian government took measures to further the use and mining of coal, with the aim of protecting the dwindling supply of wood. Around 1800, mining was started in Trbovlje, but the growth of production was assured only when the Southern Railway, connecting Vienna and Trieste, reached Ljubljana in 1849.

The break of state absolutism, in 1859, was reflected in the application

of laissez-faire economic policies; in 1867, the government-owned mine was sold to a group of Ljubljana citizens. In 1872, the Trbovlje Mining Company was incorporated in Vienna, and it eventually took over all the mining interests in the area.

Technological improvements paralleled the expansion of production. The introduction of pneumatic machinery, in 1907, increased the productivity of the worker by a third. This was important in view of the labor shortages which began to be felt at that time; because of low wages at home, beginning in the 1880's, workers migrated abroad. Agricultural employment provided some addition to the family income. Between 1880 and 1914 nominal wages doubled, but real wages increased in smaller proportion. Strikes were not infrequent. In 1891, the eight-hour day was introduced for those working below the surface of the earth; actual working time for others remained ten hours. By 1889 child labor was limited to daytime, and in 1907, the government prohibited the hiring of children under age sixteen.

These are only a few of the many valuable facts contained in Orožen's monograph. The days of the fruitless "Methodenstreit" are now long past, and the study of the changing technological and institutional framework within which the economic process takes place has become generally recognized as a valuable complement to theoretical research. Yugoslav economic development can be fully evaluated only if put into perspective by painstaking research such as that undertaken by Orožen.

Toussaint Hocevar
Northern State Teachers College

EUSTACE CHESSER: *Live and Let Live*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 124 pages. \$4.75.

This little book alleges to give "the facts about homosexuality and prostitution" in an effort to assist the reader in making a reasonable appraisal of the Wolfenden Report in England, which suggested that homosexuality, *per se*, is no more an infraction of the law than is heterosexuality, *per se*, nor is the "proper" practice of prostitution (whatever that may entail) a necessary and sufficient cause for legal concern. The report of the Committee on Homosexual Offenses and Prostitution, under the chairmanship of Sir John Wolfenden, draws a distinction between crime and sin and takes the position that the only concern of the lawmaker is the public welfare.

The author, a psychologist not well-known to American journals, takes the position that "it is a sign of barbarism to punish or hold up to opprobrium any person who departs from the average either in his appearance or behavior." This broad generalization is indicative of the kind of fuzzy thinking expressed in the book. The reader usually knows what the author means, but it would have helped if Chesser could have expressed himself more precisely. The reviewer particularly enjoyed this bit of reasoning: "In the whole of nature there are deviants and aberrants which presumably have as much right to exist as true types. The gardener may distinguish between flowers and weeds, but nature knows no such class division. Unless mutations appeared from time to time the process of evolution would come to a standstill. . . . If the universe is indeed the outcome of a design, then

homosexuals, along with giants and midgets, geniuses and cretins, must be part of that design."

The author contends that "unconscious envy" may underlie ridicule of the homosexual. "Nothing like the same horror is aroused by the heavy toll of death on the roads. . . . Unconsciously, if not openly, we envy those who do what we ourselves would like to do but dare not. Because we envy them we hate them, and what we hate, in the last analysis is what we fear. Once it is realized that homosexuality is not a thing apart from normal people, but at some stage is a component in everyone's nature the peculiar abhorrence it excites is no longer a mystery."

The book follows the psychoanalytical line. There is also a recitation of historical data to show that homosexuality and prostitution have always been with us. Lip service is given to some factual data about the low incidence of criminal complaints against homosexuals and prostitutes, but the author neglects to give the many practical facts that actually do support the attitude of the Wolfenden Report. In the reviewer's opinion, the book is arguing on the right side, but in the wrong manner. The author seems more concerned to examine the reader's psyche than to examine the homosexual's and prostitute's psyche. He doesn't "explain" these people—perhaps some primordial unconscious force repressed the chap.

Austin E. Grigg
The University of Texas

HARPER W. BOYD, RICHARD M. CLEWETT, and RALPH WESTFALL: *Cases in Marketing Strategy*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1958. 239 pages. \$4.75.

This case book is designed prin-

pally to be used by a class in the Principles of Marketing level. Whether to use cases at this level is a subject of much controversy with teachers, and opinions are divided about its wisdom. There would seem to be three choices in the matter: (a) using a text with cases; (b) using a text without cases; and (c) using cases exclusively. It is the intention of the authors to have their case book used in conjunction with a basic text; hence no text material is provided.

Seventy-seven cases are presented, covering both consumer and industrial goods. The cases can be easily adapted for classes in the Principles of Marketing, for they parallel the subjects usually covered in the elementary course. They are simple and range from one to four pages in length. These cases should prove helpful in teaching students to apply their knowledge of the principles of marketing to actual practical business problems.

Of special interest is the fact that this collection embraces the timely subjects of motivation research, trading stamps, and discount-house operation, plus decisions of the Federal Trade Commission.

The authors have made a fine contribution in their introduction by presenting the "case" for the case method; their helpful suggestions should aid the student and teacher to see more clearly what the case method involves. Frequently, both the student and the teacher have misunderstood the method in terms of its purpose, procedure, and possible benefits. For those who have been informed, there seems to be an increasing enthusiasm for using cases in the classroom and at the business conference.

If one of the objects in teaching mar-

keting is the development of analytical skills, surely cases should be included in our pedagogical methods.

William H. Day
University of Tulsa

DAVID W. NOBLE: *The Paradox of Progressive Thought*. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1958. 272 pages. \$6.00.

Noble herein assays an investigation into the "climate of opinion" of American progressive thought in the "watershed" period of the 1890's. The analysis proceeds largely through separate considerations of nine leading progressive thinkers, ranging from publicists Herbert Croly and Henry Demarest Lloyd, through academics James Mark Baldwin, Charles H. Cooley, Richard T. Ely, Simon Patten, and Thorstein Veblen, to theologians F. H. Johnson and Walter Rauschenbusch. Separate essays are tied together by reference to the ideas of Carl L. Becker, especially to his explication of the paradox in the thought of the *philosophes*.

It is Noble's thesis that the core of the progressive movement of thought was the rejection of history and religion as bases for social morality, with the attempt to substitute science in their stead. But each of the thinkers, Noble believes, eventually reached the point which Diderot had reached earlier (and which Becker also reached): the point at which faith in science revealed an amoral society in which no moral standards at all existed. In each case the thinker drew back from this precipice and reintroduced morality-in-history. Diderot found that "the identification of man and nature, and the conception of both as the necessary product of uniform natural law, had done nothing

after all than to put blind force in the place of God, and by eliminating purpose from the world leave men faced with the *reductio ad absurdum* that 'whatever is is right.' " Each progressive thinker regarded it as a cardinal necessity to dissociate Darwinism from the social anarchy to which Spencer and Sumner had consigned it by making the competitive principle the crux of human life. Each began with the assumption that science alone was all that was necessary; but each (even such an iconoclast as Veblen) eventually reached a personal bedrock of faith that science must mean inevitable progress; and the necessity of proving this led each back to his starting point. None could face the amorality of a truly value-free science. This is "the paradox of progressive thought."

Noble's writing is clear and precise rather than luminous or evocative. If it does not probe deeply, it is always interesting; and it is valuable in that it provides about the first attempt to analyze the thought of most of these men, and to look at the common elements in their thought.

Loren P. Beth
University of Massachusetts

CHRISTIAN BAY: *The Structure of Freedom*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1958. 419 pages. \$7.50.

The author's goal is to determine "what the consequences will be of assigning to 'a maximum freedom of expression for all' the same all-pervasive value-status as the utilitarians gave to 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.'" Freedom of expression is measured by the capacity, opportunity, and incentive to express what one has in him and "to develop his potentiali-

ties." Capacity to express oneself (psychological freedom) is measured by the degree of harmony between basic motives and overt behavior. Opportunity to express oneself (social freedom) is measured by the degree of immunity from perceived external restraints on one's behavior. Incentive to express oneself (potential freedom) is measured by the degree of immunity from unperceived restraints on one's behavior.

The prospect of any society's attaining a high degree of social and potential freedom turns largely on the degree of psychological freedom which the individuals of that society have attained. Bay's view of the means for advancing toward maximum psychological freedom bears a strong resemblance to the removal of carnal nature by act of redemption. Psychological freedom is advanced as defensiveness (due mainly to excessive and improperly nourished anxiety) is removed, and the removal will be accomplished in the parlors of the psychiatrist and the psychoanalyst.

So long as a society is notably deficient in psychological freedom, coercive sanctions are necessary. "But it is possible, under conditions that are ideal in every respect, to envisage a psychological freedom and self-esteem so highly and generally developed that humanitarian benevolence invariably prevails over envious aggression—and . . . conformity is achieved without the use of coercion over adult and mentally sane citizens."

Unperceived restraints include the imposing of cultural and societal ways which the individual takes for granted, and things he is talked into by others. The complete avoidance of unperceived restraints is neither practically nor theoretically achievable because an auto-

matic (nondeliberate) adherence to common ways is necessary for maintaining a society. The desired end is to maximize in all individuals their capacity to recognize and resist efforts to aggrandize special interests.

The final chapter recommends grand policies and the placing of authority to preserve and enlarge social and potential freedom at those times when psychological freedom is at a low point and later when it approaches full realization. The argument supporting these recommendations is notably deficient in my view. Except for the final chapter I think the book may well come to be regarded as a model of analysis which clears ground and lays the foundations for the construction of theory and the design of research.

Charles S. Hyneman
Indiana University

CLYDE C. CARTER: *State Regulation of Commercial Motor Carriers in North Carolina*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1958. 210 pages. \$5.00.

This volume is one in the series, "Studies in Business Administration," under the direction of the School of Business Administration at the University of North Carolina. Although it makes only casual mention of regulation in the interstate area and of regulatory problems in other Southeastern states, concentrating on North Carolina, its chief virtue is that it presents a very typical cross-sectional view of the utility and transportation regulatory history, frustrations, minor triumphs, and continuing problems for most states. For this presentation of the regulatory beginnings of all North Carolina trans-

portation, the unending political ebb and flow, the varying influences of the courts and the battles over judicial review, for a gentle glimpse of the work of lobbyists and pressure groups, this book is of interest and value to many besides North Carolinians.

The author aids the reader in venturing into the well-documented maze of facts by including summaries, not only at chapter endings, but in several other spots. Fairly frequent subheads, as well as excursions into the regulatory history and needs of public utilities and carriers other than by highway, also serve to break the close-packed factual presentation.

To say the book has seven chapters does not quite indicate the detailed scope of Carter's study, for he has interlaced a wealth of material around each subject. The first chapter is largely historical but is entitled "The Regulatory Process," whereas Chapter III examines the more specific history of Motor Carrier Regulation and the impact of the highway age. Although Chapter II is called "Structure of the Commission," other chapters, especially the last, analyze the commission's organization, its functioning, and its weaknesses.

In the chapters entitled "Regulation and the Courts" and "Regulatory Problems and Policies" the influence of lawyers in our economic life receives a good airing. Chapter VI, "Role of Special Interest Groups," deals with a subject not always given sufficient emphasis in economic studies; Carter's examination of methods and of various organizations is not at all flamboyant or muck-raking but contents itself with a very casual glimpse into some of the processes of democracy.

In the final chapter, "Conclusions and Recommendations," in which the student may be most interested, the author states: "The guiding principle here . . . is to recommend only such changes as are practicable, keeping in mind the political climate, the limited financial resources of the state, and the vested interest that both the regulators and the regulated have in the present institutional arrangement." This may fairly well summarize the attitude with which the book was assembled.

Hampton K. Snell
The University of Texas

F. IVAN NYE: *Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. 168 pages. \$4.95.

This book represents a major departure from the usual approach to delinquency in that delinquent behavior is studied in the general population. Most investigators have relied upon either official records or institutionalization as the criterion, despite the fact that many studies have amply demonstrated that individuals from the lowest socio-economic strata are more likely to be arrested, convicted, and institutionalized than are individuals from the middle and upper strata. The frame of reference of this book is multicausal, recognizing most delinquent behavior as a result of a failure of social controls, direct and/or indirect, but also recognizing the usefulness of both the delinquent-subculture approach and the personality-disorganization approach. The data presented do not, however, conclusively demonstrate the validity of the social-control frame of reference, since

only the family is investigated as an agency of social control. The school, church, peer group, and law-enforcement agencies are of less importance but, nevertheless, significant agencies of social control.

Data were secured from 780 students in Grades 9 through 12 in three medium-sized Washington towns. The Guttman Cornell scaling technique was employed in designing an instrument to measure delinquent behavior. The crucial question is whether or not delinquent behavior can be accurately determined by a paper-and-pencil test. The author claims that the scale has some face validity. Administering the test to training-school and noninstitutionalized adolescents demonstrated the discriminative value of the test. Assuming that the test is valid, evidence is provided which empirically supports many theories heretofore having little or no factual basis. Previous theory concerning the relationship between socio-economic status and delinquent behavior, however, is challenged, since no significant relationship between delinquent behavior and socio-economic status was found. Virtually every aspect of the family typically considered to be in any way related to delinquency was investigated. The implications of these data from the standpoint of the prevention of delinquency might have profitably been much more exhaustively analyzed.

Nevertheless, this well-written volume represents a major contribution and will be of considerable interest to serious students of crime and delinquency as well as those interested in the family. Many interesting and novel hypotheses are suggested for later study.

Byron E. Munson
Ohio State University

RALPH O. NAFZIGER and DAVID MANNING WHITE (eds.): *Introduction to Mass Communications Research*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1958. 244 pages. \$5.00.

The communication of ideas is fundamental in human relationships, and always has been. Yet it is only within comparatively recent times that social scientists and behavioral scientists have undertaken to study this phenomenon in more than casual fashion. The communications research published—most of it since the First World War—now includes rather an impressive list of scholarly works utilizing statistical methods and entering the realm of what may be called pure theory. Many of these investigative studies have been in such areas as sociology, psychology, and political science. Journalism was somewhat later in contributing meaningful research on quite the same level. Urgently needed, however, such studies began to emerge somewhat more than ten years ago, and today journalism research is inseparable from the larger concept of communication research.

This is a point made in the first of seven papers comprising this volume. Wilbur Schramm, among the recognized research scholars in journalism, emphasizes an obligation resting upon researchers in that area to explore *mass* communication as a social institution, the conditions of its effectiveness, and the nature and evidence of its effects. He sees three trends challenging the research worker: one toward mathematical techniques and models; one toward theory as a goal (as opposed to description alone); and one toward cooperative research.

The editors of this volume, presented as the sixth in a series of monographs published under the auspices of the Council on Communications Research of the Association for Education in Journalism, offer it as "an introduction to journalism research for beginners." Schramm's first essay is in that spirit. He succeeds in conveying a sense of the excitement and satisfaction to be derived from the completion of a well-conceived and well-executed research study.

The editors regard these papers not as a comprehensive text or manual and not as a volume intended for the experienced and established research worker, but specifically as a stimulus to the new worker "to explore the subject further in books and courses and in consultations with specialists in social science research." Essential elements in the research process are reviewed and described by certain of those specialists in the journalism field. So Malcolm S. MacLean, Jr., writes of research planning; Percy H. Tannenbaum, of the experimental method; Roy E. Carter, Jr., of field methods; John E. Alman and David M. White, of statistical methods; Paul J. Deutschmann, of measurement; and Bruce H. Westley, of the scientific method.

It is difficult in a book of this kind to maintain uniformity of style or quality, or perfect continuity. It would appear, too, that the "beginner" might, in fact, be confused in some cases by even a restrained use of that specialized and sometimes subjective jargon so beloved of research men. At the same time, several of the papers are particularly effective, and all quite properly refer the beginner to substantial

works on the subjects that they necessarily present only in more general terms. By taking advantage of such references, the beginner can profit by the more advanced guidance there available for application to his own particular research undertaking.

Robert W. Desmond
University of California
(Berkeley)

STEPHEN B. SWEENEY (ed.): *Metropolitan Analysis: Important Elements of Study and Action*. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958. 184 pages. \$4.00.

Rarely is the crux of a book found early in the volume, but one comes upon the heart of this little treatise while he is still less than one-quarter through its pages. George Blair, assistant editor, supplies the punch lines and, what may seem strange, he is quoting Abraham Lincoln. True, Lincoln was talking about a subject entirely different from the problem of mushrooming suburbs and declining center cities, but what he wrote has a ring of important timeliness, particularly, as Blair points out, in the study of metropolitan areas: "If we could first know where we are, and whither we are tending, we could better judge what to do and how to do it."

Blair points up the fact that few areas of government have been studied so frequently—and yet so futilely—as the areas of urban concentration. This book, another in the long line of discourses on the subject, is a useful frame of reference, however, for Sweeney and his associates know full well the importance of Lincoln's words, particularly as applied to historical and po-

litical factors which must be taken into account in any movement for better urban organization.

The papers contained in this volume were originally produced in commemoration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce and the twentieth anniversary of the Fels Institute of Local and State Government. They have come out of two workshops and a conference devoted to a study of the problems of metropolitan areas.

The volume is divided into three sections. The first, "Formulation of Metropolitan Area Study Objectives," includes a paper on the objectives of metropolitan study and a discussion of several approaches to metropolitan-area study. The second section takes up the methods of achieving the objectives, using the Philadelphia metropolitan area as the one to be analyzed. The final section brings in four experts from different parts of North America to discuss metropolitan-area government in their locales. Included here is a chapter on Los Angeles County, the Boston Metropolitan District Commission, Metropolitan Toronto, and a discussion by Luther Gulick of the role of the state in solving metropolitan-area problems.

Terrell Blodgett
Austin, Texas

THOMAS C. McCORMICK and ROY G. FRANCIS: *Methods of Research in the Behavioral Sciences*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1958. 237 pages. \$4.50.

Though compact in organization and format, this contribution to the methodology of the social sciences is ambitious in objectives. Avowedly "designed

for upper-class and graduate students," it is intended to serve as a step-by-step guide for the neophyte in designing and executing research; to provide a critical evaluation of many currently dominant research concepts and techniques; and, finally, to demonstrate their "relation to the development of theory." Unfortunately, only the first of these three objectives is realized to any notable extent. Substantial portions of the chapters on such topics as library methods, measurement, sampling, and tabulation are presented with considerable breadth and clarity, bearing witness to the effectiveness of the late Professor McCormick's classroom presentation and his subsequent polishing of the materials for this text. There are numerous practical suggestions, hints and warnings of an "old hand" which the aspiring young researcher would do well to heed. The inevitable inadequacy of any such initial discussion of complicated theories and techniques is mitigated by generally sound bibliographical suggestions, though some rather obvious sins of commission and omission could easily have been rectified had numerous outdated references been dropped and a more assiduous attempt made to take note of recent contributions.

The general usefulness of the how-to-do-it portions of the book is unfortunately diminished by an over-all weakness of organization which gives rise to disturbing repetition, unevenness of development, and occasionally incompatible arguments. This stems in part, no doubt, from the regrettable circumstance that Dr. McCormick died before the volume was completed. The subsequent attempts to provide unity and to clarify certain fundamental con-

ceptions of social science are at best fragmentary and inconclusive; more often they tend to be muddled and even contradictory. For example, the central theoretical argument of the book is that "the relationships studied by science may be thought of as causal to the extent that they are invariable . . ." Repetition of this theme serves apparently in lieu of proof, for no serious or sustained effort is made to analyze and disprove the counterposition of those who disclaim that "any causal connotations may be drawn from a correlation coefficient." There is, rather, melancholy lament that "this, of course, is poor basis for the construction of any science." That depends on what is understood by "science," a question which is hardly clarified by the authors' further discussion of such problems as "Ex Post Facto Design," the determination of the "relevance" of projected research, and the possibilities for controlled experiment.

Robert Horwitz
Michigan State University

HERBERT A. BLOCH and ARTHUR NIEDERHOFFER: *The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 231 pages. \$6.00.

Written by a team, one of whom, professor of sociology, is an authority in the field of correction and the other a New York City police lieutenant, this book analyzes the structure and behavior of gangs of late adolescence in light of research in anthropology and group dynamics. Its major hypothesis is that "when a society does not make adequate preparation for the induction of its adolescents to the adult status,

equivalent forms of behavior arise spontaneously—which seemingly provide the same psychological content and function as the more formalized rituals found in other societies. This the gang structure appears to do in American society, apparently satisfying deep-seated needs experienced in all cultures."

Part II deals with adolescent groups in cross-cultural perspective. An eight-page table presents a classification and description of research on puberty rites as a basis for comparison with the practices of teen-age gangs. Another table, titled "Adolescent Crime in New York City During 1955-57," provides data for a consideration of the nature and seriousness of offenses committed by adolescents and introduces Part III, "Youth and the Spirit of Our Times."

Part IV makes a real contribution to the literature by analyzing a lower-class delinquent gang in terms of the personality of its leaders and a power structure which provides a variety of positions at the top. The commentary on relationships between the Gang and the Police calls attention to the multidimensional role of the policeman in lower-class neighborhoods of a modern city. In conclusion the authors suggest that society meet the adolescent's need "to prove he is a man" by giving him a voice and representation in government in the hope that "by helping to determine control, a sense of responsibility will be developed to observe the law."

This reviewer would suggest that, in addition, we recognize that social maturity is the outgrowth of a long series of learning experiences of a kind seldom provided children in our society, and that adolescents need help in defin-

ing what it means to "be a man" in our culture. Without it they are likely to think of adulthood as a time for the unrestricted exercise of personal prerogatives rather than for the controlled expression of matured powers. In this connection we consider the concepts of anomie and the findings of students of child-rearing practices far more significant than do the authors of the book.

Barbara MacKenzie
Brooklyn College

MAX D. RICHARDS and WILLIAM A. NIELANDER (eds.): *Readings in Management*. Cincinnati, South-Western Publishing Company, 1958. 882 pages. \$7.50.

FREMONT A. SHULL, JR. (ed): *Selected Readings in Management*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1958. 408 pages. \$4.95.

In the college textbook field, collections of special-area readings are a recent development. The two books being reviewed here are the first in the general-management field. In each of them, the editors are concerned with presenting an integrated concept of the total management process. Both books were developed to be used in any one of several ways: as supplements to standard texts used in administrative management courses; as the basic texts for such courses; as supplements for case-problem courses in such areas as administration or policy; as a source of readings for executive-development programs; as a handy "reading kit" for the businessman.

The nature and level of the course in management is the major determinant of which of the first three purposes the books may best serve. Certain differ-

ences in the books are of significance in this respect:

The Richards-Nielander book is developed primarily around the managerial functions of planning, organizing, staffing, directing, and controlling—a pattern commonly followed in Principles of Management texts—following a general background section on the basic elements of management. In the Shull book, one (the largest) of three sections deals with the functions of the manager. It is preceded by a section concerned mainly with developing a philosophy of management. The final section takes a forward look at managerial requirements.

Richards-Nielander have included nearly twice as many readings as has Shull (91 to 47), and, as a result, their book has more than twice as many pages (882 to 408).

The large majority of readings in Richards-Nielander were taken from the popular leading business periodicals, while many of the Shull readings were selected from books and from periodicals of related disciplines.

The Richards-Nielander readings are primarily concerned with specific management problems, concepts, and techniques. An appreciable number of the selections included in Shull's book are concerned with what he terms as "foundations of management" and come from the "mother sciences" of management.

The Richards-Nielander book includes a bibliography of other readings at the end of each chapter.

In the opinion of this reviewer, the Richards-Nielander book can be used effectively at the advanced undergraduate level, and the Shull book contains excellent material for use in a graduate seminar.

The editors of both collections have, on the whole, made excellent selections from among the thousands that were available. (It is of special interest to note that *only* two readings appear in *both* collections.) Both books, then, could be used to good advantage in executive-development programs or as a means of self-development by the individual businessman.

J. K. Bailey
The University of Texas

Other Books Received

June, 1959

Adams, Henry: *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma*. New York, Capricorn Books, 1959. 305 pages. \$1.25.

Alabama Government Manual. Alabama, University of Alabama, Bureau of Public Administration, 1959. 220 pages.

Anderson, Arvid A.: *An Economic Survey of Angleton, Brazoria County, Texas*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research. 95 pages. \$2.00.

Anderson, Thomas J., Jr., Abraham L. Gitlow, and Daniel E. Diamond: *General Economics*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959. 489 pages. \$3.50.

Baldwin, Hanson W.: *The Great Arms Race*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1959. 116 pages. \$2.95.

Barclay, George W.: *Techniques of Population Analysis*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1958. 311 pages. \$4.75.

Baughn, William Hubers: *Changes in the Structure of Texas Commercial Banking 1946-1956*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1959. 143 pages. \$3.00.

Bee, Lawrence S.: *Marriage and Family Relations*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1959. 500 pages. \$5.50.

Bertrand, Alvin L.: *Rural Sociology*. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1958. 454 pages. \$7.50.

Bowman, Edward H., and Robert B. Fetter: *Analyses of Industrial Operations*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959. 485 pages. \$7.95.

Burckson, Sherwin: *Concise Dictionary of Contemporary History*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959. 215 pages. \$4.75.

Carter, Allan M.: *Theory of Wages and Employment*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959. 193 pages. \$5.00.

Chalfant, William B.: *Primer of Free Government*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959. 160 pages. \$3.00.

Clark, Charles T.: *Personnel Administration*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1958. 27 pages. \$50.

Converse, Paul D.: *No. 3 Studies in Marketing*. Austin, University of Texas, Bureau of Business Research, 1959. 89 pages. \$1.50.

Cox, Oliver C.: *Foundations of Capitalism*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959. 500 pages. \$7.50.

Curti, Merle, Robert Danies, Shaw Livermore, Joseph Van Hise, and Margaret M. Curti: *The Making of an American Community*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1959. 483 pages. \$8.50.

Drucker, Peter F.: *Landmarks of Tomorrow*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1959. 270 pages. \$3.75.

Due, John F.: *Government Finance: An Economic Analysis*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959. 614 pages. \$6.95.

Fagoth, Austin: *Right and Reason*. St. Louis, C. V. Mosby Company, 1959. 627 pages. \$6.00.

Garthoff, Raymond L.: *Soviet Strategy in the Nuclear Age*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, 1959. 283 pages. \$4.50.

Hale, Will: *Twenty-four Years a Cowboy and Ranchman*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. 183 pages. \$2.00.

Harris, George L.: *Jordan, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*. New York, Grove Press, Inc., 1959. 246 pages. \$1.95.

Hawley, Don: *The Nature of Things*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1959. 187 pages. \$3.75.

Hein, Clarence J.: *Voter Participation in City Elections of Cities with Populations Between 5,000 and 50,000 in Kansas*. Lawrence, University of Kansas Publications, Governmental Research Series, 1958. 61 pages.

Hein, Clarence J., and Charles A. Sullivan: *Kansas Votes—Gubernatorial Elections, 1859–1956*. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Government Research Center, 1958. 103 pages.

Hendel, Samuel (ed.): *The Soviet Crucible*. New Jersey, D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1959. 594 pages. \$6.75.

Hill, Reuben, J. Mayone Stycos, and Kurt W. Back: *The Family and Population Control*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959. 481 pages. \$8.00.

Johnson, John J.: *Political Change in Latin America*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1958. 272 pages. \$5.00.

Lansdell, Norman: *The Atom and the Energy Revolution*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 200 pages. \$6.00.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and Reinhard Bendix: *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1959. 307 pages. \$5.00.

Lombardi, Richard: *Towards a New World*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 267 pages. \$6.00.

Martz, John D.: *Central America: The Crisis and the Challenge*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959. 356 pages. \$7.50.

Meier, Richard L.: *Modern Science and the Human Fertility Problem*. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959. 263 pages. \$5.95.

Meigs, Walter B.: *Principles of Auditing*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959. 820 pages. \$7.50.

Něměcek, Ottokar: *Virginity, Pre-Nuptial Rites and Rituals*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 129 pages. \$4.75.

Pletcher, David M.: *Rails, Mines and Progress*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1958. 321 pages. \$5.50.

Runes, Dagobert D.: *Concise Dictionary of Judaism*. New York, Philosophical Library, Inc., 1958. 237 pages. \$5.00.

Spencer, Milton H., and Louis Siegelman: *Managerial Economics*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959. 454 pages. \$6.75.

Spicer, George W.: *The Supreme Court and Fundamental Freedoms*. New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1959. 182 pages. \$1.50.

Sullivan, Charles A.: *Twelfth Annual Peace Officers Training School—A Report*. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Governmental Research Center, 1958. 113 pages.

Thompson, Virginia, and Richard Adloff: *French West Africa*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1958. 626 pages. \$8.50.

Tresolini, Rocco J.: *American Constitutional Law*. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1959. 673 pages. \$7.50.

von Eckardt, Ursula M.: *The Pursuit of Happiness in the Democratic Creed*. New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1959. 414 pages. \$4.50.

Weimer, Arthur: *Introduction to Business: A Management Approach*. Homewood, Ill., Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1959. 564 pages. \$6.50.

Woods, Sister Frances Jerome: *The American Family System*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1959. 585 pages. \$6.50.

Young, Kimball, and Raymond W. Mack: *Sociology and Social Life*. New York, American Book Company, 1959. 472 pages. \$5.75.

Zinke, George W.: *The American Economy*. New York, Ronald Press Company, 1959. 704 pages. \$6.75.

Social-Welfare Studies Program

Undergraduate training in nonprofessional social welfare is offered in a new program inaugurated in 1958-59 by the School of Social Work of the University of Texas. A sequence of four courses designed as preprofessional training is provided to acquaint undergraduate students with a basic understanding of the fields and phi-

losophies found in social work. The program is administered by the School of Social Work, under supervision of a committee of social scientists headed by Wayne Holtzman, professor of psychology. Details of the program can be obtained from Charles Laughton, associate professor of social work.

The Association: Proceedings of the 1959 Convention

Minutes of the Executive Council, Southwestern Social Science Association, Thursday, March 26, 1959, Hotel Galvez, Galveston Texas

The meeting was called to order at 8:30 P.M. by Dr. Walter T. Watson, President. Officers present were: Walter T. Watson, Alfred B. Sears, Stanley A. Arbingast, J. William Davis, O. J. Curry, Chester F. Lay, S. M. Kennedy, James M. Owen, Harry E. Moore, and the following Section Chairmen: John H. Southern, William H. Day, Maurice Erickson, C. C. Bajza, T. C. Sinclair, W. T. Hagan, and Warren Breed.

It was moved and seconded that the minutes of the last meeting be approved as published in the June, 1958, issue of the QUARTERLY. Motion carried.

President Watson announced that invitations had been received from several cities and hotels for the next annual meeting of the Association. He called on Dr. Davis to present the representatives of three hotels. Dr. Davis presented Mr. George Smith, of the Hotel Adolphus, Dallas; Mr. Ligon Smith, of the Baker Hotel, Dallas; and Mr. Clifford H. Larson, of the Statler Hilton Hotel, Dallas. Each extended invitations for the 1960 annual meeting, described the facilities available, and replied to questions. Dr. Davis then presented material received by mail from the following cities: Fort Worth, Tulsa, Santa Fe, Galveston, Austin, and San Antonio.

Dr. Arbingast moved that the 1960

annual meeting be held in Dallas. This motion, seconded by Dr. Day, passed.

Following general discussion of the various hotels in Dallas, Dr. Sinclair moved that the Statler Hilton be selected as the host hotel. This motion, seconded by Dr. Hagan, failed to pass.

Dr. Moore then moved that the Baker Hotel be selected as the host hotel. This motion, seconded by Dr. Breed, failed to pass.

Dr. Davis moved that a vote be taken on the Hotel Adolphus, Baker Hotel, and Statler Hilton Hotel, with the one receiving a majority being selected as the host hotel; if none received a majority on the first vote, the one receiving the smallest number of votes would be eliminated and a second vote taken on the remaining two. This motion, seconded by Dr. Day, passed. President Watson called for a vote on this motion. The Statler Hilton Hotel received a majority of the votes cast on the first ballot. President Watson announced that the 1960 annual meeting of the Association would be held at the Statler Hilton Hotel, Dallas.

Dr. Moore presented his report as Editor of the QUARTERLY, a copy of which is included in the official file copy of these minutes. Dr. Moore stated that a special "Excellence" award of \$2,000 has been received from the Uni-

versity of Texas for the QUARTERLY. He proposed that it be used to cover the cost of binding one complete set of QUARTERLY issues and to cover the cost of publishing a special supplement to the QUARTERLY for the June, 1959, issue, this supplement to include a paper selected from each section program at the 1959 annual meeting, with the section's Associate Editor assisting in this selection. Dr. Kennedy moved that the Editor be empowered to proceed in accordance with this proposal. The motion, seconded by Dr. Day, carried.

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer for the fiscal year ending February 28, 1959, was distributed by Dr. Owen. He pointed out that the bank balance was of such size that a considerable portion of it was idle during the entire year and suggested that consideration be given to the use of this idle cash. Following general discussion, Dr. Southern moved that the Editor be authorized to increase the size of the QUARTERLY by two to three articles per issue. The motion, seconded by Dr. Davis, passed. Dr. Davis then moved, and Dr. Day seconded, that the Secre-

tary-Treasurer be authorized to transfer any cash which he felt was not needed in the general checking-account of the Association to a savings account, which might be an account in a savings-and-loan association. The motion carried.

Dr. Sears then discussed arrangements for the Presidential Luncheon at the annual meeting.

Dr. Arbingast submitted a written report of the Membership Committee, a copy of which is included in the official file copy of these minutes. It was noted that the dues collected from new members directly attributable to the work of this committee substantially exceeded the expenses incurred by the committee.

Dr. Lay reported on his work as General Program chairman. He noted that although revenue from program advertising was less in 1959 than in 1958, revenue from exhibits was expected to more than offset the difference.

President Watson adjourned the meeting at 11:20 P.M.

James M. Owen
Secretary-Treasurer

Minutes of the General Business Meeting, Southwestern Social Science Association, Saturday, March 28, 1959, Hotel Galvez, Galveston, Texas

The meeting was called to order at 8:00 A.M. by President Watson. It was moved and seconded that the minutes of the previous meeting be approved as reported in the June, 1958, issue of the QUARTERLY. Motion carried.

President Watson asked the Secretary-Treasurer to report on the action taken by the Executive Council regarding the meeting place for the 1960 an-

nual meeting of the Association. Dr. Owen reported that the Executive Council had selected the Statler Hilton Hotel, Dallas, Texas.

The Secretary-Treasurer then distributed his report for the fiscal year ending February 28, 1959. Dr. Robert H. Van Voorhis, chairman of the Audit Committee, presented the report of his committee, stating that the financial re-

port of the Secretary-Treasurer had been examined and was found to be correct. Dr. Barton moved, and Dr. Rosenquist seconded, that these reports be adopted. The motion passed and copies of the reports are attached to the file copy of these minutes.

Dr. Arbingast presented the written report of the Endowment Committee which had been prepared by Dr. Boyer, chairman. A copy of the report is attached to the file copy of these minutes. Following brief discussion concerning the present status of the Southwestern Social Science Foundation, Dr. McGinty moved that the Endowment Committee report be accepted and that the committee be continued and requested to proceed with its efforts to determine the status of the Foundation. The motion, seconded, carried.

Dr. Davis, chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, reported briefly on the work of his committee and invited suggestions concerning arrangements for the meeting. His report was accepted.

Dr. Barton, chairman of the Resolutions Committee, presented resolutions expressing appreciation to those whose efforts contributed to the success of the annual meeting. These resolutions were unanimously adopted, and copies are attached to the file copy of these minutes.

Dr. Walker, chairman of the Institu-

tional Memberships Committee, reported that his committee was undertaking a program of soliciting institutional memberships in each state of the Southwestern Social Science Association region, the solicitation being handled by a representative at each institution. His report was accepted.

Dr. Moore presented his report as Editor of the QUARTERLY, a copy of which is attached to the file copy of these minutes. He pointed out the need for more articles from within the region of the Southwestern Social Science Association. He also announced that the QUARTERLY has received a special "Excellence" award of \$2,000 from the University of Texas. In accordance with action taken by the Executive Council of the Association upon recommendation of Dr. Moore, the award will be used to publish a special supplement to the June, 1959, issue of the QUARTERLY and to bind a complete set of issues of the QUARTERLY. This report was accepted.

Dr. Lay, in his report as General Program chairman, emphasized the importance of the work done by the chairmen of the various sections of the Association.

President Watson then asked the Secretary-Treasurer to report the names of those selected to serve as Section Chairmen and Associate Editors for the coming year. They are as follows:

Accounting:

Chairman: W. P. Carr, Loyola University

Associate Editor: Lloyd F. Morrison, Louisiana State University

Agricultural Economics:

Chairman: Henry Meenen, University of Arkansas

Associate Editor: Fred Wiegmann, Louisiana State University

Business Administration:

Chairman: Edward Cundiff, University of Texas

Associate Editor: Norman H. Ringstrom, Oklahoma State University

Business Research:

Chairman: Paul H. Rigby, University of Houston

Associate Editor: Francis B. May, University of Texas

Economics:

Chairman: Sydney C. Reagan, Southern Methodist University

Associate Editor: Warren E. Adams, University of Texas

Geography:

Chairman: Charles C. Bajza, Texas College of A. & I.

Associate Editor: Yvonne Phillips, Northwestern State College of La.

Government:

Chairman: John F. Haltom, Texas Christian University

Associate Editor: John M. Clauch, Southern Methodist University

History:

Chairman: Kenneth K. Bailey, Louisiana State University

Associate Editor: Jack Haddick, University of Houston

Sociology:

Chairman: Warren Breed, Tulane University

Associate Editor: Hiram Friedsam, North Texas State College

Dr. Marion B. Smith, chairman of the Nominating Committee, reported the following nominations by his committee for Association officers for the coming year: President: Alfred B. Sears, University of Oklahoma; First Vice-President: Stanley A. Arbingast, University of Texas; Second Vice-President: Leon C. Megginson, Louisiana State University. It was moved by Dr. Lay, and Dr. Rosenquist seconded,

that this report be accepted and that these be declared elected. Motion passed unanimously.

Dr. Sears expressed appreciation for the honor bestowed upon him and announced that Dr. James Tinsley, University of Houston, would serve as General Program chairman.

The meeting adjourned at 9:05 A.M.

James M. Owen
Secretary-Treasurer

Minutes of the Executive Council, Southwestern Social Science Association, Saturday, March 28, 1959, Hotel Galvez, Galveston, Texas

The meeting was called to order at 9:10 A.M. by President Sears. Those present were: Alfred B. Sears, Stanley A. Arbingast, James A. Tinsley, Chester F. Lay, James M. Owen, Harry E.

Moore, and Section Chairmen W. P. Carr, C. R. Berry (for H. J. Meenen), Kenneth K. Bailey, John F. Haltom, Dennis M. Crites (for Edward Cundiff), Ethelyn Davis (for Warren

Breed), Sydney C. Reagan, and Charles C. Bajza.

President Sears introduced Mr. Jacobs, of the Hilton Hotel in San Antonio, who extended an invitation to the Association to hold its annual meeting in 1961 at that hotel. He briefly described the facilities available.

President Sears announced that an invitation had also been received from Oklahoma City to hold the 1961 annual meeting of the Association there.

Following a general discussion concerning the selection of the meeting place for 1961, Dr. Moore moved, and Dr. Reagan seconded, that the decision be deferred until the meeting of the Executive Council on Thursday night preceding the next annual meeting of the Association. The motion passed.

President Sears announced that it was necessary to elect an Editor for the QUARTERLY and a Secretary-Treasurer. Following a successful motion that the two be elected in one action, Dr. Reagan moved that Dr. Harry E. Moore be elected Editor of the QUARTERLY and that Dr. James M. Owen be elected Secretary-Treasurer for the coming year. Motion, seconded by Dr. Tinsley, passed.

Dr. Howard D. Nudd presented a petition from the Southwest Management Association that they be permitted to affiliate with the Southwestern Social Science Association as a Business Management Section. A copy of the petition is attached to the file copy of these minutes. Following general discussion, Dr. Arbingast moved that the petition of the Southwest Management Association be approved, with the

recommendation that at least one joint session with some other section be arranged for the next meeting. Motion was seconded by Dr. Crites. Dr. Tinsley moved to amend the motion by substituting the word "deferred" for the word "approved" in the original motion. This motion, duly seconded, failed to pass. The original motion was then voted on and carried.

At the request of President Sears, Dr. Nudd accepted the position of chairman of the Business Management Section for the coming year.

Dr. Moore then moved that a committee be appointed to study the matter of the admission and maintenance of sections in the Southwestern Social Science Association and to recommend policies on such matters. This motion, seconded by Dr. Crites, passed.

Dr. Bajza announced that the Geography Section would have no section program at the 1960 annual meeting because of a national meeting of geographers in Dallas immediately following the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association. He requested that consideration of this be given by other sections in planning their programs.

Dr. Tinsley asked that each Section Chairman give him his name and mailing address.

Dr. Arbingast invited suggestions for increasing membership in the Association, stating that he would be happy to pass them on to the new Membership Committee chairman.

The meeting adjourned at 10:55 A.M.

James M. Owen
Secretary-Treasurer

Secretary-Treasurer's Report, Southwestern Social Science Association, Comparative Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements for the Years Ending February 28, 1959; February 28, 1958; February 28, 1957.

<i>Cash receipts from:</i>	1959	1958	1957
Individual memberships	\$3,085.75	\$2,436.50	\$1,956.00
Library memberships	1,079.00	875.50	872.68
Institutional memberships	00.00	10.00	4.00
Sale of back issues of QUARTERLY	41.25	9.25	196.75
Display space at convention	610.00	490.00	330.00
Advertising in Annual Program	205.00	380.00	445.00
Advertising in QUARTERLY	130.00	316.67	196.67
Receipts from luncheon	327.50	217.80	411.60
Sale of reprints	278.20	229.45	126.16
Miscellaneous	33.35	10.96	35.00
Total cash receipts	<u>\$5,790.05</u>	<u>\$4,976.13</u>	<u>\$4,573.86</u>

Cash disbursements for:

<i>QUARTERLY expenses:</i>	1959	1958	1957
Printing			
March issue	\$ 819.15	\$ 742.30	\$ 858.05
June issue	642.80	766.90	755.25
September issue	856.40	773.35	335.40
December issue	228.90	193.15	776.90
Reprints	471.75	00.00	00.00
Editor's petty cash expenses	113.55	94.91	132.26
Wrappers	12.00	37.74	29.36
Net QUARTERLY expense ¹	<u>\$3,144.55</u>	<u>\$2,608.35</u>	<u>\$2,887.22</u>

Convention expenses:

<i>Convention expenses:</i>	1959	1958	1957
Printing programs	\$ 176.40	\$ 128.75	\$ 276.41
Expenses of General Program	27.20	3.30	5.00
Luncheon	327.50	217.80	444.95
Registration expenses	20.61	24.90	24.90
Total	<u>\$ 551.71</u>	<u>\$ 374.75</u>	<u>\$ 751.32</u>

Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer:

<i>Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer:</i>	1959	1958	1957
Postage	\$ 48.80	\$ 40.06	\$ 10.00
Stationery and office supplies	51.19	20.00	37.44

¹ For the year ending February 28, 1959, the subsidy received from the University of Texas for the QUARTERLY totaled \$3,900 (\$3,800 for 1958; \$3,800 for 1957). As reported by the Editor, this amount was applied as follows: University of Texas Press production services, \$2,400; partial payment for teaching assistant as compensation for reduced teaching load of Editor, \$800; partial printing costs, \$300; Editor's office supplies, postage, telephone, etc., \$200.

The total cost of the QUARTERLY for each of the last three years may be summarized as follows:

	Feb. 28, 1959	Feb. 28, 1958	Feb. 28, 1957
Payments by the Association	\$3,144.55	\$2,608.35	\$2,887.22
Subsidy from University of Texas	3,900.00	3,800.00	3,800.00
Total cost	<u>\$7,044.55</u>	<u>\$6,408.35</u>	<u>\$6,687.22</u>

Expenses of Secretary-Treasurer—continued

Clerical expenses	207.80	330.01	288.90
Miscellaneous	29.29	4.00	66.96
Total	<u>\$ 338.08</u>	<u>\$ 394.07</u>	<u>\$ 403.30</u>
Total cash disbursements	<u>\$4,034.34</u>	<u>\$3,377.17</u>	<u>\$4,041.84</u>
<i>Excess of receipts over disbursements</i> . . .	<u>\$1,755.71</u>	<u>\$1,598.96</u>	<u>\$ 532.02</u>
Add: Cash balance at beginning of year . . .	4,882.45	3,283.49	2,751.47
<i>Cash balance at end of year²</i> . . .	<u>\$6,638.16</u>	<u>\$4,882.45</u>	<u>\$3,283.49</u>

* The total cash balance at February 28, 1959, is located as follows:

Louisiana National Bank, Baton Rouge, Louisiana,	\$6,613.16
Petty cash fund held by Editor of the QUARTERLY,	25.00
Total	<u>\$6,638.16</u>

Membership as of February 28, 1959: Individuals 524
Libraries 238

Report of the Editor, SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

It is good to be able to report that at the end of its fourth decade of publication, the SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY seems to be in good condition. We continue to receive approximately three times as many manuscripts as we are able to find room for in our one-hundred-page issues. Furthermore, though it is undoubtedly true that we receive many manuscripts which have been rejected by other journals, sometimes the reverse is also seen in the publication in another well-established journal of material whose authors we had been forced to express our regrets to. This simply means, of course, that the editorial expression, "This in no way indicates a lack of merit in your manuscript," really is true—sometimes.

Financially, the QUARTERLY seems to be on sound footing. The University of Texas has set it up as one of the integral units of that institution; the Editor regularly receives notices addressed to "Deans, Directors, Chairmen, and Administrative Officers" — including, most importantly, reminders to be sure

to submit budgets well in advance of the deadlines. Details of this modest support can be found in the financial report of the Secretary-Treasurer.

But there is one item of financial support by the University which gives occasion for justifiable jubilation. For this year only, there has been allocated to the QUARTERLY an additional sum of \$2,000 from a special fund set up to recognize and promote excellence in the multivariated activities of the University. We did not ask whether the grant to the QUARTERLY was in recognition of excellence achieved, or in hopeful promotion of excellence yearned for. As a matter of fact, we are fairly sure we know which function it served. But we are grateful, and hope to spend this sum in a manner that will attain some of the hoped-for result. Tentative plans have been made to publish as a supplement to the regular issues of the QUARTERLY a special issue containing the outstanding paper from each of the sections of this meeting.

Manuscript Handled, 1958-59 (Volume 39)

	Submitted	Published
Accounting	1	1
Agricultural Economics	4	2
Business Administration	4	2
Business Research	1	0
Economics	12	3
Geography	6	2
Government	17	6
History	12	5
Sociology	12	3
Miscellaneous	3	1
Total	<hr/> 72	<hr/> 25

But in spite of the generosity of The University of Texas, this journal could not continue to exist were it not for the support it receives through membership subscriptions in the Association and from direct subscriptions, mostly from libraries. These funds pay most of the printing costs and almost all the costs of keeping the records. Again, a glance at the financial statement will reveal the magnitude of this contribution, though not with exactness because of the overlapping nature of memberships and subscriptions.

It may also be reported that by securing classification under special provisions for educational journals, the *QUARTERLY* has managed to escape the added burden of recently imposed higher postage rates. Indeed, postage has been reduced to a flat one and a half cents per pound. This saving amounts to three or four dollars per issue.

The distribution by disciplines of materials published in Volume 39 is shown in the accompanying table. It will be noted that some of the disciplines continue to supply most of the materials published: it may also be noted that these are the disciplines from

which an even higher percentage of manuscripts are submitted. Even so, only one of the constituent sections was not represented by a published article during the past year.

By geographical distribution, Texas led other states, with ten published articles from eight different schools (two supplied two articles each). Curiously, no article from The University of Texas made the journal during this year. (This is a fact it might be well not to call to the attention of the guardians of the budget at that institution.) The University of Arkansas, with three published articles, led the schools within the region, but was tied by the University of California. Other articles came from Arizona, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Kansas within the region and from Alabama, Nebraska, Michigan, Connecticut, Colorado, Indiana, and New York. One published article came from France.

The selection of articles has depended largely on the efforts of the Associate Editors, whose recommendations are always sought—and usually followed. The Book Review Section has continued ably and evenly under H. Malcolm Macdonald. The University of

Texas Press has supplied the technical editing which has made this one of the better-edited journals in the nation.

The QUARTERLY has one great need: the submission of more manuscripts of such excellence and interest as to appeal to a cross section of social scientists. No journal ever had as many manuscripts of as high quality as it needed. But our needs are somewhat specialized. We need articles that are not so highly specialized as to be of interest only to readers in the discipline or sub-discipline with which the author is identi-

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